THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

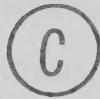SELF-ACTUALIZATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ANDROGYNY

IN A SAMPLE OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

by

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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

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ABSTRACT

The position of the paper is that adherence to the traditional fe-
minine role and sex-role stereotypes is detrimental to the development
of individuals as full, complete, self-actualizing persons, and that free-
dom from the traditional feminine role and sex-role stereotypes (an andro-
gynous orientation) aids in the full development of the person.

The purpose of the study is threefold: 1) to investigate the relation-
ship between women's self-reported degree of adherence to or liberation from
the traditional feminine role and their corresponding levels of self-actuali-
zation; 2) to investigate the relationship between women's self-reported de-
gree of adherence to or liberation from the traditional feminine role and
their degree of endorsement of masculine and feminine personality charac-
teristics, and consequently their androgynous orientation; and 3) to in-
vestigate the relationship between women's degree of androgynous orientation
and their corresponding levels of self-actualization.

The review of the literature discusses traditional vs. liberated
women, and the negative aspects of the feminine role. It then focuses on
self-actualization and psychological androgyny as new ideals for women.

The sample consists of 109 women attending spring and/or summer ses-
sions at the University of Alberta in 1977. Instruments include a Sex-Role
Inventory (Schmidt, 1973), the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) and the
Personal Orientation Inventory (Shostrom, 1974). Subjects are grouped
first according to scores on the SRI, and then regrouped according to
scores on the BSRI. Levels of self-actualization according to the POI are
determined and differences are analyzed statistically. Levels of self-
actualization are then determined for the three new groups, and differences
are analyzed statistically.

On the basis of the findings, it is concluded that adherence to the traditional feminine role and sex-role stereotypes is detrimental to the development of individuals as full, complete, self-actualizing persons, and that freedom from the traditional feminine role and sex-role stereotypes aids in the full development of personhood.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study reviews the various facets and aspects in the development of women as persons, analyzing the old traditional model as well as the new. Its main focus is on psychological androgyny and self-actualization. The present breaking away from the traditional behavioral norms often results in conflicts for the girl child or adult woman caught between society's expectations and demands and her own inner striving for self-fulfillment. Hopefully, educators, counselors, psychologists, and other professionals, in their contacts with members of the female sex (or with any individual for that matter, regardless of sex, label, or handicap) will soon cease to bring about adjustment at the expense of self-fulfillment and the full development of the human being.

In the past, a strong sense of self was perhaps less necessary to the extent that there was a stronger, more coherent, and consistent world. But in the present day, there's been a breakdown in this coherent and consistent world, and people are left much more on their own, without strict religious, moral, societal, legal guidelines on which to structure their values. Many people feel lost because they do not have a sense of contact with themselves.

A strong sense of self is not the same thing as self-absorption and selfishness. Selfish people often have a very low sense of self, and may be very frightened, insecure people who need to build walls around themselves, and are afraid to enter into interactions with others. The true strong healthy selves no longer just worry about themselves, but they don't forget themselves either.

Throughout our culture, there are individuals and groups who, though separate and distinct in many ways, share a common goal: that of obtaining recognition of their personhood over and above the characteristics that distinguish them and set them apart. Blacks, Indians, other racial and/or ethnic minorities, women, men, the aging and the aged, mental patients, prisoners, homosexuals, children, teenagers: all suffer from a more or less subtle discrimination which recognizes and emphasizes the distinctive - real or imagined - characteristics, qualities, features, behaviors, and denies the commonality they have with the rest of humanity, i.e. their humanness, their personhood.

The present study focuses on only one group among the many striving to gain recognition of their humanness. Many women (who may also be black, young, aging, homosexual, etc.) no longer are willing to accept their second-class citizenship, their secondary role and status, and they are screaming out their protest and their anger, and demanding their rights as full persons. Other women cling tenaciously to their traditional role, unwilling to let go of what has until now provided them with their source of identity and self-esteem, fearful of the demands such a change might entail. As a result, women are divided among themselves.

It is generally admitted, if not always appreciated, that "times are changing", that "things are not like they used to be", at least as far as behavioral norms for the female sex are concerned. Prior to the advent of the feminist movement, the role of woman was clearly defined. Girls were socialized to become good wives and mothers. Their basic purpose in life was defined in terms of a monogamous, patriarchal family. Women were seen as important contributors to the maintenance of the family unit, and consequently to the social system as a whole. Their influence for

good or for evil was considered to be tremendous. Well-defined sex-role expectations provided women with a sense of purpose and meaning, and because they knew exactly what their role was, security and self-esteem were somewhat easier come by, in spite of the fact that they were considered to be inferior to men even more openly than now.

Woman, throughout history, has rarely been perceived simply as a human being. Her procreative and sexual powers have awed and frightened man, and myths have developed which purport to explain the phenomenon woman and to give man some control over this inexplicable being. These myths have been reflected in religious and cultural literature from the dawn of history to the present day. In de Beauvoir's words:

> It is always difficult to describe a myth; it
> cannot be grasped or encompassed; it haunts
> the human consciousness without ever appearing
> before it in fixed form. The myth is so various,
> so contradictory that at first its unity is not
> discerned.... [W]oman is at once Eve and the
> Virgin Mary. She is an idol, a servant, the
> source of life, a power of darkness; she is the
> elemental silence of truth, she is artifice, gos-
> sip, and falsehood; she is healing presence and
> sorceress; she is man's prey, his downfall, she is
> everything that he is not and that he longs for,
> his negation and his raison d'être (cited in
> Williams, 1977, p. 1).

A number of writers (Campbell, 1959; de Beauvoir, 1953; Davis, 1971; Diner, 1973; Figes, 1970; Janeway, 1971) have analysed these myths in detail. Williams (1977) has summarized the more universal themes, which have continuity with the present: an outline of these follows below.

1) Woman as mother nature - woman is part of nature; her body shares the periodicity of the moon, and the fecundity of the earth.

2) Woman as enchantress-seductress - woman, otherwise powerless, uses deceit, cunning, and sexual attractiveness to get what she wants and to bring about the downfall of man.

3) Woman as necessary evil - woman, necessary for sex, child bearing, and child-rearing, is otherwise unimportant, inferior, insignificant, a non-person, and a source of evil.

4) Woman as mystery - woman's essence, her mental processes, moods and caprices, behaviors, etc. are beyond the power of man to understand. She is the mysterious Other.

5) Woman as the embodiment of virtue - woman has enobling qualities which inspire courage, skill, and honor in man.

Remnants of these mythic explanations of woman are still visible in the popular culture of the seventies (song, art, movies, novels, poetry, etc.) as well as in professional circles. The myth which has probably had the most influence on the lives of women in our society is the myth of female goodness, of the virtuous woman.

The Christian and Victorian model of the true woman had the four virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. In other words, the ideal woman was expected to be a faithful, loyal, and submissive wife; a dedicated, loving mother; a competent, diligent homemaker; and the moral arbiter of the home and society. This ideal proved to be problematic for woman. Her elevated status set her apart and made her an object of esteem and veneration, but it had no material reward or prestige, and she had very little personal freedom, was legally and politically powerless, and economically dependent. Also, the myth often conflicted with reality. Occasionally, in times of great need, woman was allowed to step down from her pedestal, to leave her "lace ghetto" (Nunes and White, 1972), and to use her brains and her hands to win a war or to help in taming a new frontier when manpower proved to be insufficient. At these times, she was seen quite simply as a valuable human being. In Williams' words: "myths do not

swirl about the form of the grandmother who matter-of-factly digs a trench for the children to sleep in, nor does a mystique lie about the woman who guides a plow and mule down the rows of some remote farm newly developed from the wilderness" (p. 2). But these were considered to be extraordinary exigencies. At any other time, women who refused to conform to the model of the virtuous woman were castigated as anarchists, as unnatural and morally defective, as frustrated harridans, as whores or lesbians, as "marginal women".

The original myth of the virtuous woman has been embodied in the traditionalist model which upholds the domestic role of woman. According to this model, woman plays a significant functional role as mistress of servants, wife of man, and mother of children, and this gives meaning and purpose to her life. Steinmann (1963) describes this traditional concept of woman as follows:

> [It is] that concept held by the woman who con-
> ceives of herself as the 'other', the counter-
> part of the man and children in her life. She
> realizes herself indirectly by fostering their
> fulfillment. She performs a nurturing role.
> Her achievement is to help others achieve. Her
> distinguishing feature is that she fulfills her-
> self by proxy (p. 284).

Until the twentieth century, woman's status was dictated by her bio-logical role and by the prevailing technological limitations and religious doctrines. Her role was considered innate, determined by divine law, and consequently immutable. Objective observation only seemed to confirm these notions, since woman's actual behavior reinforced the current con-ceptions regarding feminine character. The idea that her behavior may have been the result of the prescribed role and status assigned her by society never gained much credence or popularity at the time.

Today, much of what has long been established as fact is being challenged, refuted, and dismissed as mythology. The notion that woman is destined to be wife and mother and to fulfill herself indirectly through others is just one of the long-standing views that is no longer tenable. Liberated woman is coming forward. Steinmann describes her as follows:

> [S]he embraces the achieving orientation of the
> (...) culture. She strives to fulfill herself
> directly by realizing her own potentialities.
> She performs an achieving role. Her distinguish-
> ing feature is that she seeks fulfillment through
> her own accomplishments (p. 284).

Schmidt (1973), in her discussion of the traditionalist ideal of woman as opposed to the liberationist view of woman, dichotomizes as follows:

Tradtionalist model	Liberationist model
1) Adult sex-role is ful-filled within the patri-archal, authoritarian family;	Support for non-patri-archal, egalitarian re-lationship is provided;
2) Women assume a supportive role in family life, as well as in society. Men are active-instrumental;	Men and women assume both, or either, instru-mental and/or supportive roles, depending upon the situation and the in-dividual needs;
3) The ideal of woman as mother and housewife; a gender-related definition of role;	The ideal that women be free to choose their role with complete social ac-ceptance and support; roles not necessarily gen-der-related, i.e. tasks not defined as masculine or feminine;
4) The abstinence from all sexual activity outside of the marriage relation-ship; the ideal of vir-ginity and monogamy.	Support for the idea of freedom to explore sexu-ally in the manner which suits the individual and the situation (pp. 38-39).

A certain subgroup of feminists defines as its goal the furthering of the full development and actualization of each person's potentialities. The aim of this group is to promote and expand human capacities by removing

limitations imposed on individuals by stereotyped sex-roles, and by developing a new psychology of androgyny. One spokesperson for this group, Lasky (1975), states:

> [T]he existing sex-role stereotypes make half-
> people of (...) men and women (....) [W]e find
> that women can deal with their emotional side
> and men can deal with their achievement-oriented
> side, but neither is a complete person. Each
> sex has learned to do half of what complete
> human beings can do (p. 7).

These feminists believe that there is "considerable incompatibility (...) between society's traditional definition of a person's sexual role and the optimal development of [her] assets as a person" (Cohen, 1966, p. 79). They contend that, as far as the liberated woman is concerned, role as an explanatory concept is no longer relevant, because "the way the person behaves is the role" (Dornbusch, 1966, p. 209 - italics in original). Sex differentiations, according to this group, should be obliterated, and persons should be given the freedom to develop those personality traits, patterns of behavior, and attitudes most in keeping with their own potentialities.

Traditionally, the focus of psychology, following the medical model, has been psychological illness or "dis-ease", and the aim has been to treat and possibly alleviate distress caused by psychic maladjustment. However, radical changes are occuring in psychological views of the human personality.

One aspect of traditional psychology, which has destroyed its credibility among many feminists, is its incorporation and propagation of the sexist bias of our culture and the male values of competition, striving, domination, and aggression. More and more, women are beginning to realize that, servile as woman's traditional world might be, man's world which women are being reluctantly invited to enter, is not actually all that

inviting. It involves too much stress due to competition, striving for status, constant fear of obsolescence and a need for "recycling", job insecurities, petty political quarrels, and cutthroat violence. The material rewards, prestige and sense of power that men do obtain at times are dubious benefits when one considers the psychological costs involved. Yet it is the male-dominated culture which traditional psychology upholds as the norm.

Horney (1926) was one of the first to recognize that psychology, particularly in relation to woman, has been presented from a masculine point of view. She states:

> Like all sciences and all valuations, the psychology of women has hitherto been considered only from the point of view of men. It is inevitable that the man's position of advantage should cause objective validity to be attributed to his subjective, affective relations to the woman, and (...) the psychology of women hitherto actually represents a deposit of the desires and disappointments of men. An additional and very important factor in the situation is that women have adapted themselves to the wishes of men and felt as if their adaptations were their true nature. That is, they see or saw themselves in the way that their men's wishes demanded of them; unconsciously they yielded to the suggestion of masculine thought (p. 5).

Since Horney, there has been a proliferation of literature pointing out and decrying the fact that a male point of view infuses our entire culture; sexism pervades psychology and the social sciences in particular. A number of authors have pointed out how rampant sexism is in psychological and sociological research: in the choice of problems to be investigated (Millman, 1971); in methodology and test construction (Astin et al., 1971, Johansson and Harmon, 1972; Milton, 1959; Munley et al., 1972); in selection of subjects (Carlson, 1971; Schwabaker, 1972; Shultz, 1969); in the

over-generalization of findings from males to all persons (Bowen, 1971;
Dan and Beekman, 1972) and in the formulation of concepts and theories
(Bart, 1971; Broverman et al., 1972; Chesler, 1972; Weisstein, 1968).

Sexism is not limited to the field of research however; it has in-
filtrated clinical practice as well. Blake (1974) speaks of "socially
prescribed, preferred, permitted, and proscribed personality traits for
the sexes" (p. 309), resulting in a systematic suppression of intra-sex
variability, and in sex-role stereotyping. According to Blake, traditional
sex-roles have been perpetuated and actually "built into the structure of
personality through socialization 'for' personality traits that are con-
gruent with these sex-roles and 'against' traits that could produce conflict
with them" (p. 308). A study by Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) demonstrates
that there is a clearly defined recognition of personality traits expected
of males and of females, and also that there is close agreement on these
traits by both sexes. A further study by Clarkson et al. (1970) lends
support to the first study.

Furthermore, our society, in its overt laws and ethics, continually
emphasizes freedom of choice and equality of opportunity. However, there
are also covert but nevertheless real and powerful customs and mores which
significantly shape an individual's behavior and which exert pressure to-
ward conformity to the sex-role stereotypes, giving rise to much social
and intrapsychic conflict, rather than maximum realization of individual
potentialities (Chesler, 1972; Friedan, 1963).

Several researchers (Angrist et al., 1968; Bart, 1971; Cheek, 1964;
Chesler, 1972; Gove and Tudor, 1972-73; Lorr and Klett, 1965; McClelland
and Watt, 1968; Saghir et al., 1970) have investigated the relationships
between "mental illness" and sex-roles. In general, they agree with Ches-
ler (1972) that "what we consider 'madness', whether it appears in women

or in men, is either the acting out of the devalued female role or the total or partial rejection of one's sex-role stereotype" (p. 56).

The psychological costs of sex-role conformity are very high for both sexes. The greatest tragedy, in the writer's view, lies in the fact that these costs are unrecognized by the great majority, and the insiduous damage they wreak in an individual usually comes to light in the disguised form of "mental illness", broken marriages, crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, "successful" yet unfulfilled and unhappy human beings living robot-like existences devoid of the will or desire for, or knowledge of, anything better.

A certain sub-group of feminists has gone beyond criticism and has made positive contributions toward a new psychology of women, which is, in actuality, a psychology of androgyny.

Growth psychologists share the humanistic goal of this group of feminists. Whereas the feminists use the term "androgyny", growth psychologists use terms such as "self-actualization", "self-realization", "integration", "psychological health", "individuation", "autonomy", "creativity", "productivity". Both groups agree that their concept amounts to realizing the potentialities of the person, or in other words, becoming fully human, everything that the person is capable of becoming.

The new focus and direction of "growth psychology" is psychological well-being and health. Growth psychology seeks to expand, enlarge, and enrich the personality by tapping and releasing the vast human potential for actualizing and fulfilling one's capabilities and for finding deeper meaning in life. It stresses mastery of the environment rather than adjsutment to it.

Schultz (1977) has outlined existing models of the healthy personality as follows:

1. the mature person: Allport's model,
2. the fully functioning person: Roger's model,
3. the productive person: Fromm's model,
4. the self-actualizing person: Maslow's model,
5. the individuated person: Jung's model,
6. the self-transcendent person: Frankl's model,
7. the "here-and-now" person: Perl's model.

Of particular relevance to the present discussion is Maslow's model of the self-actualizing person.

Self-actualization, according to Maslow (1968) "does not mean transcendance of all human problems. Conflict, anxiety, frustration, sadness, hurt, and guilt can all be found in healthy human beings" (p. 210). Thus, grief and pain are sometimes necessary for growth of the person, and it is important not to protect people from them as if they are always bad. Such over-protection may imply "a certain lack of respect for the integrity and the intrinsic nature and the future development of the individual" (p. 8). It should be recognized that at times the most appropriate and healthy response to a situation is maladjustment. Maslow does point out, however, that "in general, the movement with increasing maturity, is from pseudo-problems to the real, unavoidable, existential problems" (p. 210).

Frank et al. (1953) call attention to some of the possible confusions and conflicts facing a young female in our culture, which could influence her potentiality for equality of opportunity and direction of destiny:

> Girls in our society are caught in the confusion
> of changing patterns of sexual relations. For
> them there is a conflict between the older de-
> finition of feminine role centered around mar-
> riage and child-bearing, and masculinity as
> being strong, successful in intellectual activi-
> ties, and decision-making. This conflict is in
> contrast to the propaganda about equality, the
> right to vote, the new ideas of sexual freedom,
> and equal opportunities for personal fulfillment
> in a career. For many adolescent girls, acceptance
> of a feminine role seems to mean defeat and sub-
> mission rather than entrance into the life of an
> adult woman (cited in Wysor, 1974, p. 147).

There are many conflicts and contradictions besetting modern woman. Coming from a past where her role and her duties were rigidly defined and enforced, into a present where not only are questions not being answered but long-established "answers" are being questioned, and facing an un-foreseeable and unpredictable future, she is bound to experience anxiety, confusion, conflict, uncertainty, fear, dissonance, maladjustment. Our century has witnessed far-reaching changes in ideas about human nature and human values, in the behavioral and social sciences, as well as in the opinions of the general public. However, times tend to change faster than attitudes which lag far behind changes in technology. Society evolves slowly, in step with a conservative majority, and a woman in the avant-garde may well decide to fall back into the ranks, choosing to adjust rather than to strive for self-actualization.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter will review a number of studies comparing the traditional and liberated woman. This is followed by a discussion of the negative aspects of sex-role stereotyping. Then the characteristics of the healthy self-actualizing woman are outlined, and feminist therapy is described. Finally, the concept of psychological androgyny is presented and discussed, in contrast to the traditional masculinity-femininity construct.

A.   Traditional vs. Liberated Women

Fand (1955) reasoned that one dimension upon which women's attitudes might be assessed would be that of a self- vs. other-orientation. She developed a Feminine Role Rating Inventory, which purported to distinguish between "other-oriented women" and "self-oriented women". Fand considered "other-oriented women" who sought personal fulfillment through fostering the fulfillment of others (generally husbands and children) to be traditional in outlook. In contrast, "self-oriented women" sought fulfillment through the maximization of their individual potentialities and embraced the achievement orientation of the culture.

Steinmann (1963) used a revised form of Fand's Feminine Role Rating Inventory to investigate the concept of the feminine role held by college-age daughters and their parents in 51 middle-class American families, and the degree of agreement or disagreement of these concepts. Steinmann was able, as a result of her study, to formulate the following conclusions:

1) The daughters' concept of the average woman is significantly more other-oriented than either their mothers' or their fathers' concepts.

2) The mothers' concept of the average woman is significantly more other-oriented than is the fathers'.

    3) The daughters' concept of men's ideal woman
       is significantly more other-oriented than is
       the fathers' concept of their ideal woman.

    4) The daughters' concept of their mothers'
       expectations for them is close to their
       mothers' own self-concept and their mothers'
       ideal self-concept.

Porter (1967) also used Fand's Feminine Role Rating Inventory to in-
vestigate sex-role concepts and their relationship to psychological well-
being and to future plans in female college students. She found that
neither happiness nor the establishing of relationships with men differen-
tiated self- from other-oriented women. The view of femininity which ap-
peared most acceptable to the majority of the women was one which allowed
them to assume the roles of wife and mother while concomitantly pursuing
careers which gratified their need for self-realization and achievement.
When composite scores of the self- and other-orientations were analyzed,
college women over a 12-year period appeared consistently moderated in
their sex-role attitudes, neither self- nor other-oriented (Fand, 1955;
Steinmann, 1963; Porter, 1967).

Gump (1972) expanded her original study (Porter, 1967) to explore role
concepts of senior college women in relationship to ego strength. She
found that ego strength is "inversely related to adoption of the female
sex-role, that more purposive, resourceful women are less traditional in
their sex-role orientation" (p. 91). It should be noted, however, that
even the most purposive women were pursuing traditionally feminine careers
and that most of them wanted husbands and families. Although these sub-
jects did not consider that the roles of wife and mother were sufficient
for fulfillment, neither did they propose to follow radical alternatives
to the traditional view.

Rand (1968) compared career-oriented women with home-making oriented
women to determine whether career-oriented women were more masculine in

interests, personality, achievement, competency, potential, self-perceptions, life and vocational goals, than home-making oriented women. Rand summarizes the findings of previous studies (Hoyt and Kennedy, 1958; Vetter and Lewis, 1964; Wagman, 1965; White, 1957; Zissis, 1962) as follows:

> The greater achievement, dominance, endurance, and independence found to typify career-oriented women are generally considered masculine personality characteristics while the nurturance, succorance, empathy, understanding, sociality, and heterosexuality found to typify homemaking-oriented women are generally considered feminine personality characteristics by our culture. Similarly, the social dimensions of friendliness, sociability, interpersonal competency, heterosexuality, and closer family relationships found to characterize homemaking-oriented women and the achievement orientation, intraception, material awards for grades, later dating, phantasy work-roles, and earlier vocational choices found among career-oriented women further suggest a basic difference in motivational patterns (p. 444).

The results of Rand's study indicate that the career-oriented group had higher masculine ability and personality characteristics and higher feminine ability characteristics, while the home-making oriented group had higher feminine personality and social-interest characteristics. Rand concluded that the career-oriented woman redefines her sex-role to include characteristics appropriate to both sexes, while the home-making oriented woman adheres more closely to the traditional concept of femininity. Although Rand herself does not use the term, the present writer sees this redefinition of role as a step in the direction of psychological androgyny, a concept that will be presented and discussed later in this chapter.

Epstein and Bronzaft (1972) investigated the marriage, family, and career plans of 1,063 freshwomen at a public, tuition-free university. The sample consisted predominantly of lower middle-class and working-class women. Their findings indicated that the sample showed a strong rejection "of the

traditional view of home and family as the be-all and end-all for women while, at the same time, rejecting any suggestion of eschewing marriage or giving up having a family (....) A clear plurality looks forward to having it all: career, marriage, and children" (pp. 671-672).

Ellis and Bentler (1973) investigated the relationship between sex-role stereotypes and traditional sex-determined role standards, as well as the personality correlates of approval of these standards. College students of both sexes rated males, females, and themselves with respect to stereotypical masculine and feminine traits. Self-report measures of intelligence, liberalism, masculinity/femininity, extralegality, non-religiousness, status-seeking, and approval or disapproval of traditional sex-determined role standards were also obtained. It was found that, for female subjects, opposition to traditional sex-role standards was related to perceived similarity of males and females, to perceived similarity of self to males, and to intelligence. For both groups, it was found that disapproval of traditional sex-determined standards was related to libera-lism, extralegality, and nonreligiousness. Ellis and Bentler indicate that "elimination of traditional, nonfunctional, sex-determined role stan-dards would result in expansion of the role sphere, so that 'opposite sex' roles, in addition to 'same sex' roles, could be enacted by the individual" (p. 33 - italics in original). Here again, without actually using the term, Ellis and Bentler are advocating psychological androgyny - the posi-tion held by the present writer.

Schmidt (1973) investigated sex-roles and the life styles of profes-sional married women. She developed a Sex-Role Inventory to differentiate between traditional and liberationist women, as well as among women with differing life-styles, sex-role attitudes and preferences, and levels of cognitive dissonance. One section of her Sex-Role Inventory, (Section C),

designed to differentiate between women with traditional and liberationist attitudes, is used in the present study.

Kravetz (1976) examined the sex-role concepts of university women, half of whom were active members of the Women's Liberation Movement, half of whom were not. Results indicated that neither group corresponded to sex-role stereotypes in their description of healthy adult men and healthy adult women. Instead, social desirability determined the traits most frequently used in the descriptions. It was also observed that Liberation Movement members scored closer to the masculine pole than did non-members. Woman-images tended to be more masculine than did either man- or self-images, which generally did not differ. Here again is an approximation of the concept of androgyny.

Cherniss (1976) explored the impact that involvement with the Women's Movement has on a woman's personality and life-style. He characterized the "women's liberation style" as follows: "an active, outgoing approach to the world, a style that is often accompanied by a high degree of achievement striving and a strong valuation of autonomy and independence" (p. 368). Cherniss interviewed a small sample of women actively involved in the Movement and comparison women matched on the basis of age, occupation, and marital status. His data obtained from this sample suggested the following conclusions:

> [T]he movement offers to many (...) women a unique
> and often beneficial opportunity for personal
> growth, meaning, and actualization (....) [F]or
> many women, participation can well represent a
> most positive and personally significant experi-
> ence; and participation may actually bring about
> in some women more constructive individual growth
> in considerably less time than psychotherapy or
> other strategies of personal change (p. 380).

Cherniss' conclusion is congruent with the present writer's comments on feminism as therapy, presented later on in the chapter.

The majority of the preceding studies support the following conclusions:

1) Women differ in "self-" and "other-" orientation.

2) The majority of women feel most comfortable with a life-style that allows them to combine home-making and a career.

3) Traditional and liberated women differ on a number of attitudes and personality characteristics, in the direction of a more equal balance of masculine and feminine traits in the more liberated woman, suggesting an androgynous orientation.

4) Liberated women experience greater autonomy, independence, ego strength, etc. than do traditional women.

These conclusions are in line with the present writer's contention that traditional sex-roles and sex-role stereotyping are deleterious to the woman's development as a fully-functioning human being.

B. Negative Effects of Traditional Sex-Roles and Sex-Role Stereotyping

A number of investigators have maintained that traditional sex-roles and sex-role stereotyping result in deleterious personality development. In the writer's view, some such effects are relatively mild while others are profoundly injurious. Mental "dis-ease" (a term which the writer prefers to use in place of "mental illness") might be considered an extreme point on such a continuum. This section presents research and theories on milder effects. The subsequent section deals with mental "dis-ease" as a serious effect of sex-role stereotyping and too rigid conformity to the traditional female sex-role.

Many investigators have shown that sex-role stereotypes and traditional sex-determined role standards exist and reinforce each other, and that differential esteem is accorded the two sexes (Broverman et al., 1972;

Elman et al., 1970; Fernberger, 1948; Komarovsky, 1950; McKee and Sherriffs, 1957; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968; Sherriffs and Jarrett, 1953; Toews, 1973).

Cohen (1966) contends that "there is a considerable incompatibility between many people's sense of identity as persons and as sexual beings, (...) between society's traditional definition of the person's sexual role and the optimal development of [her] assets as a person" (p. 79). In Cohen's view:

> Our narrow conception of what is manly and
> hence not womanly, of what is womanly and
> hence not manly (conceptions which exclude
> large areas of thought and feeling which
> might appropriately be considered as human
> rather than narrowly sex-bound) can be seen
> to give rise to difficulties in our develop-
> ment and our relations with each other and
> our children (p. 88).

Lasky (1975) and Rossi (1964) both maintain that our current system of sex-role differentiation has long since outlived its usefulness, and that it now serves only to prevent both males and females from developing as free, full and complete human beings. Also, in close agreement, Ellis and Bentler (1973) see traditional sex-role standards as not only non-functional but dysfunctional as well.

There is considerable research evidence to support these contentions that a high level of sex-typing may not be desirable. Maccoby (1966) found that greater intellectual development correlates quite consistently with cross-sex typing, i.e. with relatively greater "masculinity" in females and relatively greater "femininity" in males. Sanford (1966) has suggested that sublimated "femininity" in males often results in creativity and ar-tistic or intellectual achievement; on the other hand, when not sublimated it may result in compulsive masculinity and rigidity. Cohen (1966) conclu-ded as a result of her exploratory and descriptive study of pregnant women and their husbands: "If the greatest value is placed on successful

development of so-called typical masculine and feminine types of behavior, then creativity and maximum intellectual development seem to suffer in both sexes" (p. 82). Gump (1972) found that ego strength is inversely related to adoption of the feminine sex-role, and that the more purposive, re- sourceful women are more liberal in their sex-role orientation. In other words, "purposiveness, resourcefulness, and self-direction may be incon- sistent with adoption of a role limited to the traditional, other-oriented goals and satisfactions" (pp. 90-91).

Traditional sex-determined role standards appear to have negative consequences for personality development (Slater, 1961), for marital har- mony (Bott, 1964; Komarovsky, 1950, 1967; Parsons, 1964), originality in both males and females (Barron, 1957; Helson, 1967), problem-solving per- formance (Carey, 1958), level of achievement motivation (Horner, 1972; Stein and Smithells, 1969; Veroff et al., 1953). Others (Broverman et al., 1972; Cosentino and Heilbrun, 1964; Goode, 1968; Heilbrun, 1968; Komarov- sky, 1946; Parsons, 1964) suggest that traditional sex-role standards pro- duce unnecessary internal conflicts and are incompatible with both indivi- dual and social interests, thus summarizing quite adequately the basic position of the present paper.

C.   Mental "Dis-ease"

Traditional psychoanalysis and many traditional therapeutic approaches stemming directly from psychoanalysis have focused, in the main, on woman's inability to adjust to or to be contented with "feminine roles", and presenting symptoms such as headaches, fatigue, chronic depression, frigidity, hysteria, hypochondriasis, homosexuality, etc. have been viewed and treated from this perspective.

Seidenberg (1973) describes women's symptoms by a new usage of the term "undoing". He sees them as a disguised protest, an attempt to block

participation in a prescribed way of life. The most common problems in
women tend to be the powerless "undoing" or "refusing" kind - depression,
phobias, frigidity, and the like. Symonds (1973) agrees with Seidenberg
that women experience a fear of grasping and directing their own lives
and concurrently protest against a life of lost identity. Symonds main-
tains that many women have developed the unconscious assumption that their
own growth and self-realization will be equivalent to hurting others.
Some of the more common symptoms of "dis-ease" in women are discussed in
the following pages.

1. Masochistic syndrome, hysterical personality, and "normal femininity"

Belote (1976) has compared the characteristics of female masochism,
the hysterical personality, and the "healthy female". She illustrates
that masochistic and hysterical behavior is very similar to the concept
of "normal femininity", so much so that the three are not really distinguish-
able. In Belote's view, pathology is inherent in "normal femininity".
Table 1 outlines this comparison.

In order to better understand Belote's comparison, it will be useful
to review the traditional notions concerning the masochistic syndrome,
the hysterical personality, and the "healthy female".

The dynamics of masochism have long been considered as crucial to an
understanding of woman's psychological, social, and sexual behavior.
Krafft-Ebing (1886) listed it and discussed it in his treatise of sexual
aberrations. He described the symptoms of masochism as follows:

> 1) extreme dependence on the love object;
> 2) extreme submission to, and lust for the
>   object who is cruel (which over time,
>   changes to lust and desire for the cruel-
>   ty itself); and
> 3) an oversexed condition in certain indi-
>   viduals who require painful stimulation
>   in order to feel excited (outlined in
>   Belote, 1976, p. 335).

Table 1

A Comparison of the Characteristics of
Masochism, the Hysterical Personality,
and the "Healthy Female"

Female Masochism*	Hysterical Personality**	Healthy Female***
Absorption in love	Overreactivity	More emotional
Emotional dependence	Excitability	More easily excitable in minor crises
Self-denial	Dependency	Less independent
Fears success		More submissive
Inhibition of expansive, autonomous development		Less competitive
		Less aggressive
Low self-esteem	Low self-esteem	
Accepts pain		More easily hurt
Perceives world as hostile	Lack of orgasmic sexual response	Less adventurous
Self-sabotage	Seductiveness	Less objective
Use of weakness and help-lessness to woo the other sex		Less interested in math and science

*Horney (1939, p. 229)
**Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (1968), Reich (1949)
***Broverman et al. (1972)

(Belote, 1976, p. 347)

Krafft-Ebing viewed such individuals as being sexually inhibited, and com-

pulsively striving to overcome their inhibition through various adaptive

maneuvers.

Freud(1953) was concerned with symptoms of masochism in males, be-

cause he saw it as a desire on the part of the male to adopt a passive

feminine attitude towards the father, in order to be loved like the mother.

However, Freud believed that many women have an unconscious desire to be

sexually abused and impregnated against their wish, and enjoy such fantasies;

he therefore considered it as an expression of "normal femininity", and did

not consider it as aberrant in women. He considered masochism to be a

primary instinctual drive, something to be concerned about when it occurred

in males, but "normal" and common in females.

Deutsch (1930) postulated that masochism was biological rather than instinctual in origin, and built her theory of femininity on this postulate. Reik (1941) presented a view of masochism which integrated biological and socio-cultural factors. Bieber (1966), Horney (1967), Rado (1956), Reich (1949), and Thompson (1964) all adopted an adaptational theory of masochism, viewing it as socially conditioned, learned behavior. Only Horney, however, actually made the connection between culturally-determined sex-roles and the psychological syndrome of masochism in women. In de Beauvoir's (1953) view, masochism exists when a woman views her own ego as separate from her self and totally dependent upon the will of another. De Beauvoir contends that some women, faced with conflicts created by their view of their sexual destiny, seek to escape these conflicts by wallowing in the "misery" of their destiny, rather than attempting to resolve it by overcoming their passivity and establishing an equal relationship with their male partner.

The hysterical personality has been defined by the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (1968) as follows:

> [B]ehavior patterns (...) characterized by excitability, overreactivity, and self-dramatization. This self-dramatization is always attention seeking and often seductive, whether or not the patient is aware of its purpose. These personalities are also immature, self-centered, often vain, and usually dependent on others.

Freud did not discuss the "hysterical personality" but rather "hysterical conversion", which he saw as a result of unresolved Oedipal conflicts, penis envy, and oral fixation leading to ambivalent, repressed sexuality. Reich (1949) described the hysterical personality as being imaginative, lacking in conviction, compliant, deprecatory, and disparaging of self, demanding, over-dependent and prone to dramatization and somatic complaints. In Marmor's (1953) view, the hysterical personality was resistant to change, immature, weak, unstable, and very suggestible. Easser

and Lesser (1965) saw the hysterical personality as an expression of heightened femininity, a caricature of femininity. Martin (1971) described the extreme dependency needs of the hysterical personality which, he contended, arose from a "symbiotic character structure" involving unresolved separation anxiety. Wolowitz (1972) pointed out that women in our culture are conditioned to develop an hysterical character as a response to the oppression of being stereotyped as inferior and to the resulting lack of power, skills, and equal opportunity. In his view, hysterical personalities tend to seek responsivity and self-validation from others and engage in frantic efforts to gain love and attention from men; they sacrifice realness and genuineness, losing themselves in the roles they perform.

Broverman et al. (1972) asked 79 clinically-trained psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers to designate which bi-polar personality traits (e.g. "very submissive" vs. "very dominant", "very tactful" vs. "very blunt", "has difficulty making decisions" vs. "makes decisions easily") would be closest to a mature, healthy, socially competent adult male, adult female, and adult of sex unspecified. The "male", "female", and "adult" instructions were given to separate groups of professional subjects. As might be expected, male-valued traits were more commonly assigned to the healthy male, and female-valued traits to the healthy female. According to Broverman et al., such designations mean that

> (...) clinicians are more likely to suggest
> that healthy women differ from healthy men
> by being more submissive, less independent,
> less adventurous, more easily influenced,
> less aggressive, less competitive, more ex-
> citable in minor crises, having their feelings
> more easily hurt, being more emotional, more
> conceited about their appearance, less objec-
> tive, and disliking math and science. This
> constellation seems a most unusual way of
> describing any mature, healthy individual
> (pp. 4-5).

Broverman et al. also found that whereas the "adult" and "male" concepts of health do not differ significantly, a significant difference does exist between the concept of health for "adult" versus "female". In other words, "the general standard of health is actually applied only to men, while healthy women are perceived as significantly less healthy by adult standards" (p. 5). Their conclusion is that "an adjustment notion of health, plus the existence of differential norms of male and female behavior in our society, automatically lead to a double standard of health" (p. 6).   This coincides with the present writer's view.

From an adjustment viewpoint, the "healthy female" will adjust to and accept the behavioral norms for her sex, regardless of the fact that these behaviors are considered to be less healthy and also generally less socially desirable than those for the generalized mature, competent adult. According to the adjustment view, psychological health consists in a good adjustment to one's environment: adjustment to reality, to society, to other people.

Women are caught in a double-bind. As Broverman et al. point out:

> [a]cceptance of an adjustment notion of health,
> then, places women in the conflictual position
> of having to decide whether to exhibit those
> positive characteristics considered desirable
> for men and adults, and thus have their "femi-
> ninity" questioned, that is, be deviant in terms
> of being a woman; or to behave in the prescribed
> feminine manner, accept second-class status, and
> possibly live a lie to boot (p. 6).

2. Schizophrenia and sex-roles

Several studies exist which point out, either directly or indirectly, a relationship between schizophrenia and traditional sex-roles. These studies are discussed below.

A study by Farina et al. (1962) investigated the prognostic significance of both marital status and level of premorbid adjustment for female

schizophrenic patients. Previous studies with male populations indicated
that patients who have achieved more adequate levels of adjustment prior
to a schizophrenic episode tended to recover more rapidly than those with
a history of poor adjustment. Adjustment was generally defined in terms
of characteristics such as "extroversion, a capacity to establish and main-
tain friendships, and the ability to interact smoothly with others" (p. 57).
Other studies indicated, more specifically, that for male schizophrenic
patients, marriage was one factor which consistently correlated with re-
covery and release from hospital. This correlation was explained by the
fact that it was the more mature and adequately functioning males who were
more likely to marry, and because of this greater maturity and more adequate
adjustment, they were also likely to recover more rapidly than single males
who may not have had the maturity and adjustment level necessary to ever
enter into a marriage. Farina et al. found that very few studies of female
schizophrenics had been carried out. Orr et al. (1955) had reported that
length of hospitalization, education, and marital status were good predic-
tors of remission in female patients. Schofield et al. (1954) had failed
to find a relationship between marital status and recovery. So, there was
little research evidence regarding the significance of marital status or
premorbid adjustment for recovery from schizophrenia in females. Farina
et al. point out that, for women in our society, marriage does not neces-
sarily imply the same degree of maturity as it does for males. The active
role played by the male in courtship generally requires a certain degree
of adjustment. On the other hand, Farina et al. contend, "in our society,
the woman's role in the marriage process can be a very passive one and,
indeed, if she has a detached, nonargumentative disposition she may appear
more feminine and more attractive to some males" (p. 57).

Their sample consisted of two groups of first admission female schizo-
phrenic patients. One group had demonstrated a relatively quick and last-
ing recovery in terms of discharge from hospital; the other group had
failed to make such a recovery. They found that "the more adequate the
level and extent of interpersonal relationships manifested prior to the
disorder, the greater the likelihood of remission" (p. 59), and that
"married females are more likely to recover from a schizophrenic process
than are single, separated, or divorced females" (p. 58). However, they
do point out that "adequate interpersonal adjustment was prognostically
more significant than marital status" (p. 60), and emphasize the need for
"more intensive research into the marriage process itself and the motiva-
tions underlying marriage and the choice of a spouse" (p. 60).

Farina et al. (1963) undertook a further investigation of the rela-
tionship of marital status to the incidence and prognosis of schizophrenia,
following up the hypotheses and observations of their previous study. Their
sample included both males and females. Their findings indicated both si-
milarities and differences in the meaning of marriage for males and females.
Female schizophrenics, they found, were more likely to be married than male
schizophrenics (66% vs. 48%) and less likely to be single (23%vs. 43%).
Percentages of those separated or divorced were approximately equal. The
sex difference in marital status supported Farina et al.'s hypothesis that
"females, even though passive and aloof, may marry with relatively greater
ease than males because the role they are expected to play during courtship
may be more consistent with these schizoid characteristics" (p. 627). Once
again, however, Farina et al. stress that "common factors that increase the
probability and the continuation of marriage for both males and females,
such as interest in others and ability to form and maintain close inter-
personal relationships may be more strongly related to recovery" (p. 628)

than marital status in itself. They also found that males who were di-
vorced or separated were more likely to recover than females in the same
situations. They suggest that this "difference may be a function of greater
environmental pressures that impinge upon separated and divorced women
relative to men of comparable status" (p. 628).

Farina et al. also found that a history of gainful employment and
high level of education were significant, in terms of prognosis, for males,
whereas low education and unemployment prior to illness was associated
with recovery in females. They attributed these differences to the fact
that for able-bodied men in our society unemployment is considered a de-
viation from normal, expected behavior, whereas for women higher educa-
tion and employment "may actually signify deviation from the socially ex-
pected roles of wife and mother" (p. 628). Here again is evidence of the
double standard of health resulting from the existence of differential
norms of male and female behavior in our society, alluded to earlier by
Broverman et al. (1972).

Cheek (1964) undertook an investigation of the family environment and
the roles of parents of young adult schizophrenics. She anticipated that
schizophrenics of both sexes would differ from their normal counterparts
in the same general direction and would probably present "the same picture
of withdrawal, passivity, and emotional constraint" (p. 393). She was
startled by the following "serendipitous" finding: "The profiles of the
male schizophrenics presented, as anticipated, an interaction equivalent
of withdrawal, with low total activity rates and low dominance behaviors"
(p. 392). Cheek found, on the other hand, that "in marked contrast, the
female schizophrenics proved to be more active and dominating than the
female normals" (p. 392). An earlier study by Gross (1959) had indicated
that female schizophrenics freely admitted to pathology and acted out their

symptoms, while males exhibited denial of pathology and constriction of behavior. Letailleur et al. (1958) also described a reversal of sex-roles in schizophrenia, but suggested that this reversal results from somatic and psychological predispositions, and from the delusions and hallucinations which accompany schizophrenia. While these two studies did suggest some differences between the interaction profiles of male and female schizophrenics, the probable direction of these differences was left unclear. Hence, the surprising nature of Cheek's findings.

Cheek did not agree with Letailleur et al. that the reversal of sex-roles is a function of the disease process, because her developmental data indicated that the females had been more active and the males more passive since early childhood. She contends that overactive dominating females and underactive passive males are "cultural anomalies", and consequently, more susceptible to hospitalization; on the other hand, overactive males and underactive females, because they conform to cultural stereotypes, can remain more readily in the community. Cheek's view coincides with that of Broverman et al. (1972) and Farina et al. (1962), and also with the position of the present writer.

Lorr et al. (1960) found that schizophrenic women exhibited hostile, irritable, resistive, noisy, bossy, and paranoid behavior which gave them high ratings on a measure of hostile belligerence, quite the opposite of expected feminine sex-role behavior. Lorr and Klett (1965), in a study of the constancy of psychotic syndromes in males and females, found that the females exhibited more excitement than males, and that the males manifested a higher degree of regression and apathy than females. Although they recognized these differences, they did not find them large relative to scores characterizing larger norm groups, and concluded that "men and women differ relatively little with respect to the major psychotic syndromes" (p.313)

In the writer's view, Lorr and Klett paid minimal attention to sex differences which they themselves found significant at the .05 level, instead of taking a closer look at these findings and looking for the causes of these differences.

McClelland and Watt (1968) investigated sex-role alienation in schizophrenia, and found that "female schizophrenics tend to react in a more assertive manner like normal males, and male schizophrenics in a more sensitive manner like normal females" (p. 226). They proposed a theory relating schizophrenia to sex-identity alienation in early childhood. According to their theory, the components of sex-role identity can be arranged in a hierarchy of importance to normal adjustment. Most crucial is gender identity, which they define as "an unconscious schema representing pride, confidence, and security in one's membership in the male or female sex" (p. 237). At this primary level, i.e. the fundamental experience of one's self as male or female, schizophrenics show the most disturbance. At a secondary level, which involves a more or less conscious sex-role style (assertiveness in men, yielding and dependence in women), a reversal of style may occur without psychotic incidence, provided that gender identity is secure. The most superficial level, that of sex-typed likes, interests, and attitudes, generally remains undisturbed in female schizophrenics. They conclude:

> What is crucial in schizophrenia is a serious
> disturbance at the primary or identity stage;
> conflicts at the secondary level of style of
> approach to life may lead to neuroses and at
> the tertiary level of interests to social mal-
> adjustments. But at any level, sex-role inte-
> gration appears to be a crucial factor in ad-
> justment (p. 238).

McClelland and Watt found support for their theory in the reported findings of Kagan and Moss (1962). Kagan and Moss found that male children (age 0 - 3) who had hostile mothers tended to grow up to be withdrawn, non-achievement oriented, and socially anxious (thus exhibiting the schizoid,

non-assertive type of adjustment seen in male schizophrenics). In con-
trast, female children whose mothers were hostile tended to grow up into
active, competitive, assertive women (exhibiting an atypical female pat-
tern of behaviors with some components of a schizoid type of adjustment).
In McClelland and Watt's view, sex-role alienation is manifested in "de-
fective instrumentality in males" (p. 238), and in deficient "expressive
functions" among females.

Distler et al. (1964) studied anxiety and ego strength as predictors
of recovery in schizophrenics. They found that female schizophrenics are
more likely to recover if they adopt a feminine pattern of traits (high
anxiety, low ego strength) than if they adopt the reverse masculine pat-
tern (low anxiety, high ego strength). Here is yet more evidence of the
double standard of health and of the double bind in which women often
find themselves: " whether to exhibit those positive characteristics con-
sidered desirable for men and adults, and thus have their 'femininity'
questioned, that is, be deviant in terms of being a woman" (Broverman et
al., 1972, p. 6) or to behave as a "normal female" and accept a second-
class status, compromising their integrity and full personhood in the
process.

Phillips and Segal (1969) noted that community studies of mental ill-
ness based on self-reported symptoms find a higher rate of psychiatric
disturbance among women than among men. They attribute this difference
to the fact that women are less reluctant than men to admit such difficul-
ties, rather than to real sex differences in rate of disturbance. In other
words, the difference is due to cultural expectations which make it more
acceptable for women to be expressive about their difficulties than for men.

Gove and Tudor (1972-73) explored the possibility that women in modern
industrial societies have higher rates of mental illness than men, arguing

that the woman's role in such societies have a number of characteristics that may promote mental illness, thus discounting Phillips and Segal's (1969) theory of cultural acceptance of greater expressiveness in females. The present writer tends to agree with the position of Gove and Tudor, although in her view, this position does not render that of Phillips and Segal less plausible. Possibly a combination of both positions might be closer to the reality of the situation.

Gove and Tudor outline characteristics which they feel may promote mental illness in females as follows:

1) Most women are restricted to a single major societal role - housewife, whereas most men occupy two such roles, household head and worker. Thus, a man has two major sources of gratification, his family and his work, while a woman has only one, her family (....)

2) A large number of women find their major instrumental activities - raising children and keeping house - frustrating (....)

3) The role of housewife is relatively un-structured and invisible (....)

4) Even when a married woman works, she is typically in a less satisfactory position than the married male.

5) The expectations confronting women are un-clear and diffuse (pp. 507-508).

Gove and Tudor limited their definition of mental illness to functional disorders characterized by anxiety (neuroses) and/or mental disorganization (psychoses), but also considered transient situation disorders and psycho-physiological disorders which, in their view, may reflect mental illness. An extensive survey of information on first admissions to various public and private hospitals, agencies, and treatment centers revealed that, in-deed, more women than men suffer from mental illness and emotional dis-orders. Gove and Tudor concluded that this difference was a result of

the characteristics of male and female roles in modern society as outlined above.

Powell and Reznikoff (1976) studied sex-role attitudes, need for a-chievement, and employment patterns of female college graduates in relation to symptoms of mental illness. The object of the study was "to determine whether the expectations or nonexpectations of personal success, unrelated to husband or children, might be a factor in (...) differing reactions to the maternal role" (p. 474). The combined findings of a number of previous studies (Bart, 1971; Birnbaum, 1971; Cohen, 1966; Dyer, 1963; LeMasters, 1957; U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1970) suggested that "in one group of women the demands of motherhood are incompatible with personal needs, whereas in another group the difficulty arises when the demands of motherhood have diminished or ceased" (p. 474). Powell and Reznikoff found that women with a self-orientation exhibited significantly higher symptom scores than those with an other-orientation. They attributed this finding to stress caused by conflicts between personal needs and cultural role expectations. In their words:

> Some achievement-oriented women who, al-
> though they adapt their behaviors to fit the
> traditional patterns of family life, do not
> necessarily reduce their aspirations in so
> doing, and (...) the ultimate consequences
> of such a conflict would be the development
> of symptoms of psychological stress (p. 474).

This view is consistent with the position held by Gove and Tudor. The question is: should women adjust to the traditional role and, in so doing, sacrifice the realization of their own potentialities, or should they strive for self-realization to the detriment of their families? Most women settle for a compromise between the two, which is often far from ideal. Perhaps the question that should be asked instead is: what can society do to reduce or eliminate conflict between women's personal needs and cultural expectations?

3. Depression in older women

A number of writers (Bart, 1971; Henry, 1966; Leavitt, 1975; Sontag, 1975) have discussed the older woman: her status and her role. In the past, involutional melancholia was a common illness among older women. Today it is called, more simply and more commonly, depression. It was formerly seen as a consequence of physiological aging, a function of organic decay. Now, more attention is being paid to environmental, psychological factors that may be contributing to the development of this "dis-ease".

Depression is usually considered as a response to loss, according to Bart (1971). The psychoanalytically-oriented view depression as anger directed inward and resulting from the loss of a beloved person or object. Ego psychologists consider it to be a reaction to the loss of a goal, and consequently of self-esteem. Existentialists view it as a loss of meaning. Sociological theorists see it as the result of a loss of role. It is not difficult to see the inter-relatedness of these various views.

Henry (1966) points out that our culture has a "metaphysic of youth, beauty, and romantic love" (p. 162). Younger women, generally, benefit from this metaphysic. Society has given them a role, the fulfillment of which defends them against attack from within and from without, and a feeling of usefulness and self-esteem. Once past youth, however, much of woman's energy is spent in protecting herself against the inroads and encroachments of aging, maintaining her good looks, her sex appeal. In Sontag's (1975) words: "Large amounts of women's energies are diverted into this passionate, corrupting effort to defeat nature, to maintain an ideal, static appearance against the progress of age" (p. 488). In Leavitt's view:

> Within the context of the generally low and
> unhappy status of the middle-aged and aged (...)

> women are doubly penalized. The view of
> woman as a sex object in a society with a
> cult of youth means that she is sexually
> desirable for a relatively brief time. With
> the child-bearing and child-rearing period
> (...) becoming much shorter, the other major
> female role may end when a woman still has
> half of her adult life to live. So the com-
> pletion of her "service" roles is frequently
> marked by the onset of depression for (...)
> women (p. 496).

Bart (1971), in her study of depression in middle-aged women, hypothe-
sized that such depressions are due "to their lack of important roles and
subsequent loss of self-esteem, rather than the hormonal changes of the
menopause" (p. 359). She emphasized that "role and self-concept are inti-
mately interconnected" (p. 354) and that "some roles are more central for
one's self-image than others; self-esteem comes from role adequacy in these
more salient roles" (p. 359). The most important roles for women in our
society have been those of wife and mother. Consequently, "the loss of
either of these roles might result in a loss of self-esteem - in the feeling
of worthlessness and uselessness that characterizes depressives" (p. 355).

Bart conducted a cross-cultural survey of 30 societies in order to
determine the roles available to women in these societies after the child-
bearing period was over. She then studied 533 women between the ages of
40 and 59, experiencing their first hospitalization for mental illness. She
compared women who had been diagnosed as suffering from some form of depres-
sion with women who had other functional or nonorganic disorders. She anal-
yzed the conditions under which role loss is associated with depression.
The results of her analysis are outlined in Table 2.

In Bart's view, and this view is shared by de Beauvoir (1953) and
others, it is the women who assume the traditional feminine role who respond
to the loss of role with depression. Bart's findings are consistent with
Cohen's (1961) theory of depression. He saw it as an illness common to

Table 2

Conditions Under Which Role Loss is
Increasingly Associated with Depression

Condition	Percent Depressed	Total N (Base)
Role loss	62.0	369
Maternal role loss	63.0	245
Housewives with maternal role loss	69.0	124
Middle-class housewives with maternal role loss	74.0	69
Women with maternal role loss who had overprotective or overinvolved relationships with their children	76.0	72
Housewives with maternal role loss who have overprotective or overinvolved relationships with their children	82.0	44

(Bart, 1971, p. 358)

persons too closely integrated into the culture, in contrast to schizo-
phrenia which appears to be common among those who deviate from the cul-
tural norms. Women who have not staked everything on their femininity
feel the crises of middle-age and menopause much less keenly than those
who have. Bart concludes by emphasizing the importance of women actuali-
zing their own selves, fulfilling their own potentialities, and developing
their own personhood. She states:

> If one's satisfaction, one's sense of worth
> comes from other people rather than from one's
> own accomplishments, one is left with an empty
> shell in place of a self when such people depart.
> On the other hand, if a woman's sense of worth
> comes from her own accomplishments, she is not
> so vulnerable to breakdown when significant
> others leave (p. 367).

Sontag (1975) claims that woman acts as an "accomplice in her own
underdevelopment as a person" (p. 493), and that in protecting herself as
a woman she betrays herself as a mature, adult person. She does this by
submitting and conforming unquestioningly to the conventional feminine

role.   Sontag believes, as do Bart (1971) and the present writer, that
women have another option.   She states:

> They can aspire to be wise, not merely nice;
> to be competent, not merely helpful; to be
> strong, not merely graceful; to be ambitious
> for themselves, not merely for themselves in
> relation to men and children.   They can let
> themselves age naturally and without embarrass-
> ment, actively protesting and disobeying
> the conventions that stem from this society's
> double standard about aging.   Instead of being
> girls, girls as long as possible, who then age
> humiliatingly into middle-aged women and then
> obscenely into old women, they can become women
> much earlier - and remain active adults, enjoying
> the long, erotic career of which women are capa-
> ble, far longer.   Women should allow their faces
> to show the lives they have lived.   Women should
> tell the truth (p. 494).

Miller (1973) contends that women have deeply incorporated the con-
ception that their personal effectiveness will lead to destruction of
both themselves and others.   Many people today are still concerned that
if women aspire to enrich and enlarge their own lives by focusing pri-
marily and directly on their own needs, that they will violate some in-
born psychological rule and unwittingly bring destruction and havoc to
their own lives, as well as to the lives of men and children.

Chesler (1972) addresses herself to this concern in the following
statement:

> Women whose psychological identities are
> forged out of concern for their own sur-
> vival and self-definition, and who with-
> draw from or avoid any interactions which
> do not support this formidable endeavor,
> need not "give up" their capacity for
> warmth, emotionality, and nurturance.   They
> do not have to forsake the "wisdom of the
> heart" and become "men".   They need only
> transfer the primary force of their "sup-
> portiveness" to themselves and to each other
> - and never to the point of self-sacrifice.
> Women need not stop being tender, compassionate,
> or concerned with the feelings of others.   They

must start being tender and compassionate
with themselves and with other women. Women
must begin to "save" themselves and their
daughters before they "save" their husbands
and their sons (...) and the whole world
(p. 386).

D.   The Healthy Woman as a Self-Actualizing Individual

After discussing the negative aspects of sex-role stereotyping, in

terms of mental "dis-ease", it appears opportune to consider what charac-

terizes the healthy individual, the healthy woman.

Perhaps the most adequate description of the healthy person, presented

both within the context of self-actualization and of feminism, is that of

Lasky (1975). She sees "healthy persons as self-actualizing persons who

are comfortable with themselves whether or not they act, think and live

in accordance with the culturally accepted values of their society" (p.

535). According to Lasky, "the self-actualization tendency can be thought

of as the desire to become more and more of what one is, to become every-

thing one is capable of becoming" (p. 535). She aligns herself with Mas-

low, Rogers, Fromm, Adler, May, and other "growth psychologists" (see

Schultz, 1977, for overview) who postulate that the human being has an in-

ner positive growth tendency which urges it to move toward fuller develop-

ment.

Lasky describes six characteristics which healthy people share. These

are: "self-acceptance, spontaneity, good interpersonal relations, autonomy,

problem-centeredness, and self-actualization of their unique combination

of attributes" (p. 538). These characteristics are described in more de-

tail as follows:

1) Healthy individuals are able to accept both
   their strong points and shortcomings without
   boasting or complaining. They are also able
   to accept others for what they are, without
   trying to change or remake them.

2) Healthy individuals are spontaneous in their
thoughts, impulses and behavior and this spon-
taneity implies neither conventionality nor
rebelliousness, but self-acceptance.

3) Healthy individuals have deep profound inter-
personal relations, arising from their capa-
city for great love, empathy, and closeness
based on mutual understanding rather than
need and dependence.

4) Healthy individuals are autonomous, in the
sense that they find their happiness, worth,
and self-esteem within themselves rather than
looking for it in others.

5) Healthy individuals are not overwhelmingly self-
involved; much of their energy is focused on
issues outside themselves (intellectual and/or
artistic pursuits, humanitarian concerns, etc.).

6) Healthy individuals are ruled by the laws of
their own character rather than the rules
of society; consequently, they may or may not
fit in or conform to the conventional mold of
our society (i.e. have a "good" job, relate
sexually to a member of the other sex, marry,
have children, etc.).

Perlstein (1976) has presented what she considers to be an ideal mo-
del of a healthy woman. She describes the healthy woman as "a complex
composite of attitudes, behaviors, and values formerly divided between
men and women" (p. 385). Perlstein's model can be summarized as follows:

1) She would be both tough and tender, nurturing
and responsive to the nurturance of selected
others, alternatingly intellectually rigorous
and sensitive.

2) She would have ready access to a wide range of
her own feelings including anger, fear, love,
joy, pain, etc.

3) She would be comfortable with herself when that
was a choice, but also able to connect with
others when that seemed desirable.

4) She would choose the basis on which she connected,
the degree of intimacy which she was prepared to
involve herself in, and the form of intimacy.

5) She would be clear enough with herself that although she could, at times, identify with others, she would remain separate, would know who she was.

6) She would define and facilitate her own pro- ductivity; she would work toward maximizing her effectiveness.

7) She would know what supports she needed and reach for the appropriate resources when that seemed desirable.

8) She would accept her total self and work toward changing those aspects which she felt uncomforta- ble with.

9) She would see herself simultaneously as unique yet universal, recognizing her individuality as well as her global connectedness.

Shainess (1973) states that "health results from mastery - from suc- cessful development of all one's powers, those of body and mind, of in- tellectual as well as reproductive fertility" (p. 271 - italics in origi- nal).

The various views presented above are congruent with the views of Maslow and other growth psychologists regarding the healthy, self-actuali- zing individual.

Lasky (1975) points out two major barriers to self-actualization. These are neurosis (which Lasky sees as being most often the result of unsatisfied needs for belongingness and love) and prevailing sex-role stereotypes. Growth psychologists have tended to focus on unfulfilled needs as the major block to self-fulfillment; feminists have focused on sex-role stereotypes. In Lasky's view, "sex-role stereotypes are harmful to the growth and nurturance of individualized human beings because they tell us precisely how we should be physically, behaviorally and attitudi- nally" (p. 536 - italics in original). Lasky is critical of persons like Erikson (1968) who devise models to show precisely "what healthy people

<u>should</u> be doing and experiencing from birth to death" (p. 537 - italics in original). She contends that feminists have gone beyond growth psychologists. Not only have they recognized and endorsed self-fulfillment for all human beings; they have also done the following:

1) analyzed the political and social barriers to self-actualization for all people in our society, and

2) examined and worked on their own consciously and unconsciously held sex-role stereotypes (p. 538).

E. <u>Feminism as Therapy</u>

The importance of the early stages of childhood socialization in the process of psychosexual and psychological development has been emphasized by researchers and theorists. However, Hochschild (1972), Kaplan (1976), and Tresemer (1975), among others, contend that, important as the study of the early stages of development may be, it is also necessary to focus on the possibilities of adult "resocialization" and change, and the po- tentiality of humans to mature beyond the child's stages of development. This undermines the inevitability of the effects of early socialization, and leaves room for the later development of mature qualities such as ego strength and independent thinking, which are necessary to ensure the be- havioral adaptability and flexibility of the individual.

More and more it is becoming clear that the belief that one could or should accept and adjust has been a <u>cause</u>, and not the <u>cure</u>, of problems. Radical therapists (see Radical Therapist/Rough Times Collective, 1974, for overview), growth psychologists, and feminists all agree that the goal should be change not adjustment. Many interesting and exciting reorienta- tions for therapy are arising from this perspective. In general, the new approaches permit all so-called symptoms to be seen in a new light - no longer merely as defenses, maneuvers, or other such tactics, but as struggles

to preserve or express some deeply-needed aspects of personal integrity in a milieu which will not allow for their direct expression. Therapist and client become involved in a co-operative effort to gain awareness of these needs, an understanding of how they have been diverted or distorted, and a means by which they can be redirected in view of further growth.

One new therapeutic approach, which is particularly relevant to the present discussion, is that of feminist therapy. Feminist therapy is actually an outgrowth of the theory and philosophy of consciousness-raising (C-R) groups, which originated with the feminist movement. Stepping out of stereotyped roles is, oftentimes, a lonely, risky, and frightening experience. Consciousness-raising groups developed originally in order to offer a sense of closeness and intimacy with other women engaged in the same struggle to find self-identity outside sex-role stereotypes. A sense of trust in other women and a closeness based on common problems that arise from external sources as well as internal deficiencies serves to bind the groups into continuing, relatively stable units.

Brodsky (1976) sees the C-R groups of the women's movement as having implications for the treatment of identity problems of women in therapy. She emphasizes the importance of therapists being aware of the increasingly wider range of valid goals for healthy functioning of women, in terms of roles and personality traits. She also points out that a good therapist should be aware of the reality of her client's situation. This means taking into account early socialization which has encouraged passivity, dependence, submissiveness, lack of initiative, etc., as well as actual discriminatory practices encountered by women striving to enter the world of work or the higher echelons of education. It is also important that the therapist avoid conforming, consciously or unconsciously, to the double standard for men and women in mental health and adjustment, as described by Broverman et al.

(1972). If such conformity to this standard exists, the therapist may be guilty of producing iatrogenic disorders in their clients, who are struggling towards a new identity and self-actualization, by fostering guilt, confusion, and self-disparagement.

Mander and Rush (1974) have advanced the notion of feminism as therapy. They claim that "through feminism women are becoming active, adult, responsible members of our twentieth century, and so it is clear that feminism has been functioning as a healing mechanism for women" (p. 4).

Lasky (1975) states that the role of the feminist therapist is "to de-sexualize the goals of men and women in therapy and to allow their inner talents to shape the person, regardless of their gender" (p. 538).

Lerman (1976) sees the goal of the feminist therapist as that of helping individuals become aware of external oppression and the futility of their efforts to gain self-definition within its context. Both Brodsky (1976) and Lerman agree that the essential elements for positive change are the discovery and expression of anger, the validation of "crazy" feelings, an awareness of the social context, and the encouragement of self-nurturance.

Lerman considers it important to help clients "look outward as well as inward and differentiate clearly what belongs to the society and is being imposed and what is internal" (pp. 379-380). Separating the internal and the external serves to enhance the individual's self-confidence and her sense of personal power. Anger, even rage, sometimes surfaces at the point where differentiation is being made between the external and the internal, welling up out of her awareness of what she has allowed to be done to her without protest. This anger may be directed inward as well as outward, and the client may need help in admitting, accepting, and dealing productively with this anger.

The aim of feminist therapy, as well as of other radical therapies, is to help discover "paths to fulfillment" rather than solutions to "difficulties in living". Therapy can help individuals become aware of emotional costs and various alternatives, but it does not and should not offer solutions. Many clients come to therapy with all degrees and types of commitments already established: to specific people, families, ideologies, jobs, life styles, values. Some clients, during or after therapy, decide to make radical changes in their lives. Others choose to become the best persons they can be, within the limits of their personal circumstances and the patterns of society in general. It is not the task of the therapist to make these decisions for the client. Her task is to encourage "men and women, girls and boys to explore and go down paths that fit their emotional and intellectual needs and skills at each point in their lives" (Lasky, 1975, p. 537). It is not the task of the therapist to answer the questions of her clients, but rather to question the easy answers which promote conformity and conventionality at the cost of full development as a person.

The term "feminist therapy" can be deceptive for two reasons. Some think it implies that the therapist and/or the client be female. This is not necessarily true. Just as many women are very "masculinist" in their attitudes, so may men be very "feminist" in their views. Feminism is "related to a questioning of traditional sex-role assumptions with the aim of helping people be people without categorization" (Lerman, 1976, p. 384). From this perspective, of course a man may be a feminist therapist and/or a feminist therapy client.

F.   Psychological Androgyny

A common goal of humanistic or growth psychology and of feminism is furthering the full development and actualization of each person's

potentialities. Growth psychology implies and feminism supports quite explicitly the concept of psychological androgyny. In order to promote and expand human capacities to their maximum, it is necessary to remove limitations imposed on individuals by stereotyped sex-roles. The following paragraphs discuss the concept of psychological androgyny.

Mead (1933), in her study of sex and temperament in three primitive societies, underlined the cultural relativity of sex-role behavior and sex-typed personality traits. Mead saw at least three courses of action open to a society aware of the fact that male and female personalities are socially produced. One course of action was "to standardize the personality of men and women as clearly contrasting, complementary, and antithetical, and to make every institution in the society congruent with this standardization" (p. 64). The second approach was to "admit that men and women are capable of being moulded to a single pattern as easily as to a diverse one, and cease to make any distinction in the approved personality of both sexes" (p. 65). A third possible course of action was to "allow to each individual the pattern which was most congenial to [her or] his gifts" (p. 71). In Mead's view, the rigid standardization of sex differences would have a resulting cost in individual happiness and adjustment, while the abolition of these differences would produce a consequent loss in social values. On the other hand, recognition and acceptance of real individual differences rather than sex differences, Mead contended, would result in greater expression for each individual temperament. She concluded: "If we are to achieve a richer culture, rich in contrasting values, we must recognize the whole gamut of human potentialities, and so weave a less arbitrary social fabric, one in which each diverse human gift will find a fitting place" (p. 71).

Mead proposed these alternatives almost fifty years ago. As recently as 1975, Tresemer pointed out that three very different patterns can be discerned in the literature of the sixties and seventies, proposing and documenting new forms of sex-role behavior. One pattern is that of role reversal, where females are entering the work world, and males are becoming "house husbands" taking over "women's work". The desire on the part of women for a greater share in occupations and professions, and a rejection of their previous "feminine role" is seen by many as an expression of "penis envy". On the other hand, the desire of many males to leave the world of work and develop their previously repressed emotional side has been viewed as "uterus envy". Tresemer calls the pattern of role reversal a "flip-flop" because, carried to its extreme, it would only trade one set of possibilities and limitations for its opposite, retaining the polarity of sex-roles. A second discernible pattern, described by Tresemer, is that of "unisex", which is a move toward the depolarization of sex-roles and the minimization of differences. Carried to its theoretical extreme, it could give rise to a homogeneous mass of identical persons and usher in a " 'beige epoch' of homogenization" (Tresemer, p. 326). The third pattern, emerging most recently, is that of psychological androgyny, a concern of this paper.

Originally, the term "androgyny" referred to biological hermaphrodi-tism. Currently, it is being widely used in a psychological sense to de-scribe the personality of a fully-developed individual who experiences the freedom to develop and express characteristics appropriate to both or either sex in the culture. In other words, individuals regardless of their sex could be "both instrumental and expressive, both assertive and yielding, both masculine and feminine - depending upon the situational appropriate-ness of these various behaviors" (Bem, 1975, p. 634 - italics in original).

As Rossi (1964) describes it:

> an androgynous conception of sex-role means that
> each sex will cultivate some of the characteristics
> usually associated with the other in traditional
> sex-role definitions. This means that tenderness
> and expressiveness should be cultivated in boys
> and socially approved in men (....) It means that
> achievement need, workmanship, and constructive
> aggression should be cultivated in girls and ap-
> proved in women (p. 99).

Rossi recognizes that socialization plays a major role in determining
the personality traits which develop in males and in females, and that if
individuals of both sexes were allowed to develop more freely, many girls
would exhibit so-called "masculine" traits and behaviors and many boys
would exhibit so-called "feminine" traits and behaviors.

Rebecca et al. (1976) combined the social learning and cognitive-
developmental models of psychosexual identification to produce a model
of sex-role transcendence which is an androgynous model, although they
prefer not to use this term. It purports to describe the emergence of
sex-roles in our society and to explain why sexism occurs and is perpetu-
ated by the institutions of our culture. The model asserts that sex-role
development proceeds ideally through three stages:

> an undifferentiated conception of sex-roles
> (Stage I); a polarized, oppositional view of
> sex-roles (Stage II); and a flexible, dynamic
> transcendence of sex-roles (Stage III) (p. 91-
> italics in original).

In Stage I, the young child's thinking is characterized by globalness,
in the Piagetian sense. She has an undifferentiated conception of behavior,
including sex-role and sex-typed behaviors, and is also unaware of cultural-
ly imposed restrictions on behavior according to biological sex. As move-
ment through this stage progresses, the child begins to differentiate.
Among other things, she becomes aware that humans are male and female,
and that there are appropriate sex-typed behaviors for each sex.

In learning sex-roles, children use the organizing technique of polarities and discreet entities in order to make sense of an inherently indivisible world. This is Stage II. Rebecca et al. see this polarization of sex-roles as desirable and functional when it is used as a temporary organizing device. However, they contend that society reinforces and idealizes this form of perception as the ultimate adult goal of sex-role learning and behavior.

While learning the polar conceptions of sex-roles, the individual learns the components of both poles theoretically if not in actual performance. In Stage III, there is a transcendence of the stereotypes and a reorganization of the possibilities learned in Stage II into a more personally relevant framework. In this stage, one can move freely from situation to situation and behave/feel appropriately and adaptively. Rebecca et al. see sex-role transcendence as implying "flexibility (over time, over situation, and over personal moods), plurality, personal choice, and the development of new or emergent possibilities once individuals and society move away from present (...) sex-roles" (p. 95).

Society supports the transition from Stage I to Stage II with both overt and covert reinforcement, rewards, and punishments, and conflict is generally minimal. However, there is little support from society at large when one attempts to move into Stage III, and such a move is often wrought with both internal and external conflict. Rebecca et al. conceive of Stage III in dynamic rather than static terms; there is no final closure to the process of conflict and resolution:

> Resolution is only a temporary state that fulfills
> the requirements for a particular situation, mood,
> and/or period of time. Given the diversity of situa-
> tions a person encounters (some of which lend them-
> selves to assertive, independent behaviors, and some
> of which lend themselves to expressive, nurturant

> co-operative behaviors), that person will have
> to synchronize the particular situational expecta-
> tions and personal inclinations and abilities
> (p. 96).

A number of writers (Bird, 1968; Chafetz, 1974; Gould, 1974; Henshel,
1973; Kaplan and Bean, 1976; Osofsky and Osofsky, 1972; Rossi, 1964; Safi-
lios-Rothschild, 1971) have attempted to describe a possible future andro-
gynous society. Bird (1968) predicts that "in this brave new world babies
would not be committed to a specific adult role because they happen to be
born female" (p. xii), that "the most important thing about a person will
no longer be his or her sex" (p. ix), that "sex would be a personal charac-
teristic of only slightly more consequence than the color of one's hair,
eyes or skin" (p. xii). Henshel suggests that, in an androgynous society,
the male-female dichotomy could be eliminated, and attention could be fo-
cused on individual capabilities and potentialities. Such an approach
would orient individuals toward appropriate educational, economic, and
career goals on the basis of their human qualities, thus eliminating sex-
ism and favoritism towards one or the other sex. Chafetz (1974) calls for
a new definition of "humanness", divorced from masculinity and femininity.

Rossi (1964) has described a hypothetical case of a female who is
raised and lives out her life in an androgynous society. Such a person
will be reared, as are her brothers, in an atmosphere of loving warmth
and firm discipline. She will share household responsibilities with other
members of the family and develop mechanical as well as domestic skills.
During her academic years, she will be encouraged to assume responsibility
for her own decisions, and will be given the opportunity to experiment
with numerous possible fields of study. Her eventual choice will be the
area which best suits her interests and abilities with no concern about
what, in the past, was considered appropriate or prestigeful work for a

woman. Marriage and parenthood will be only two of the many strands which may constitute her adult life. The girl will be as true to her "growing sense of self" as are her brothers and male counterparts, and she will not be pressured to belittle her accomplishments or lower her aspirations. Her intellectual aggressiveness and assertiveness will be just as welcome and accepted as her tenderness and emotionality. She will be encouraged to establish her own independent world, in which she is free to move and work, love and think, as a mature human being. This new woman will have a "many-faceted conception of her self and its worth" (p. 139). Gould (1974) provides an even more vivid and far-reaching description of a truly androgynous approach to child-rearing.

Safilios-Rothschild (1971), in her summary of the overall goals of the feminist movement, also provides a very apt description of the ideal androgynous society. She states:

> Liberation (...) means freedom from stereotypic
> sex-linked values and beliefs restricting the
> range of socially acceptable options for men
> and women because some options are considered
> to be inappropriate for one or the other sex.
> Liberated men and women living in a liberated
> society have equal access to the range of op-
> tions and may make any choice according to
> their particular inclinations, talents, wishes,
> and idiosyncratic preferences (....) [T]he
> major goal of liberation is the elimination
> of social, cultural, and psychological barriers
> in the way of both men and women's realization
> and, therefore, benefit both men and women
> (p. 71 - italics in original).

Kaplan (1976) proposes androgyny as a model of mental health, defining androgyny as "behavior that is not delimited or constrained by prevailing sex-role stereotypes about what is or is not proper for each sex" (p. 354). In her view, the androgynous (i.e. healthy) woman "would respond to any situation in a manner that best meets her personal needs and situational demands, not according to what is best for her simply because she is female" (p. 354).

In order to better appreciate the concept of psychological androgyny, it is important to make a crucial distinction between "reproductive role" and "sex-role" or "gender role". Confusion arises because a wealth of literature uses the terms interchangeably, and sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists each have their own peculiar definitions which often tend to be contradictory to each other.

The most obvious examples of reproductive roles are those behaviors associated with the reproductive function: insemination, child-bearing, and suckling. Almost all human beings are born with a clearly identifiable gender: they are either male or female. Gender or sex is a biological fact; it is also an ascribed status that is associated with expected differences in behavior from birth until death. According to Dornbusch (1966), "only sex, kinship, and skin color can be ascribed for an infant with relative certainty that [s]he will remain in these categories for the rest of [her] life" (p. 208). (Studies by Money (1970), Money and Ehrhardt (1972) and Money et al. (1957), and the current possibility of transexual surgery, it should be noted in passing, provide evidence that even one's ascribed sex is not absolute and immutable.) Ascription by sex is based upon the primary sex characteristics (i.e. those characteristics related to reproduction: male or female genitalia) of the neonate. In all known human populations, males and females differ in primary sex characteristics. They differ in many secondary sex characteristics as well (physical size, body weight, growth of body hair, muscle/fat ratio, voice pitch, etc.), but these can be affected by cultural and environmental factors, and are, therefore, far less absolute, than primary sex characteristics.

Sex-role is of a different order than reproductive role. Here the relevant terms, traditionally, have been "masculine" and "feminine".

Henshel (1973) defines sex-roles as "the rules that a human being of a given sex has to follow in order to fulfill the social prescriptions of his or her sex" (p. ix).

The line of demarcation betwen reproductive role and sex-role appears to be somewhat arbitrary. Feminists are attempting to subtract from the sex-role all but the most basic anatomical differences with the anticipation of reducing educational, social, and political inequalities between the sexes.

Money et al. (1957) have defined sex-role (gender role) as follows:

> all those things that a person says or does to disclose himself or herself as having the status of boy or man, girl or woman respectively. It includes but is not restricted to sexuality in the sense of eroticism. Gender role is appraised in relation to the following: general mannerisms, deportment and demeanor; play preferences and recreational interests; spontaneous topics of talk in unprompted conversations and casual comment; content of dreams, daydreams and fantasies; replies to oblique inquiries and projective tests; evidence of erotic practice and finally, the person's own replies to direct inquiry (cited in Ramey, 1976, p. 23).

A sex-role, therefore, is predominantly a learned set of appropriate "masculine" or "feminine" behaviors, as determined by the culture and society in which one lives. Kagan and Moss (1962) have described the traditional feminine model as passive and dependent, displaying both sexual timidity and social anxiety, fearing and avoiding problem situations, and pursuing homemaking rather than career activities. In contrast, the traditional masculine model is sexually active, independent, dominant, courageous, athletic, competitive, and involved in a career. Parson and Bales (1955) dichotomized as follows:

> the most fundamental difference between the sexes in personality type is that relative to the total culture as a whole, the masculine personality tends

> to the predominance of instrumental interests,
> needs and functions (...) while the female
> personality tends more to the primacy of ex-
> pressive interests, needs and functions (....)
> Other things being equal, men would assume more
> technical, executive, and "judicial" roles, women
> more supportive, integrative, and "tension-managing"
> roles (p. 101).

Child (1954) recognized the initially androgynous nature of the new-born infant when he defined socialization as follows:

> the process by which an individual, born with
> behavior potentialities of an enormously wide
> range, is led to develop actual behavior con-
> fined within the narrower range of what is cus-
> tomary for [her] according to the standards of
> [her] group (p. 655).

After much research, Money et al. (1957), in opposition to the Freudian theory of "an innate, constitutional bisexuality", promote the concept of "psychologic sexual neutrality" in humans at birth. They state:

> In the human, psychologic sexuality is not dif-
> ferentiated when the child is born. Rather, psycho-
> logic sex becomes differentiated during the course
> of many experiences of growing up, including those
> experiences dictated by his or her own bodily equip-
> ment (....) Such psychosexual neutrality permits the
> development and perpetuation of diverse patterns of
> psychosexual orientation and functioning in accord-
> ance with the life experiences each individual may
> encounter and transact (quoted in Ramey, 1976, p. 22).

The social learning (Mischel, 1966) and the cognitive-developmental (Kohlberg, 1966) models of psychosexual development assume an androgynous potentiality in the very young child.

Bem (1976) summarizes a number of investigations she carried out over a period of five years to verify and validate the model of psychological androgyny. She developed the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, used in the present study, which provided for an operational definition plus evidence for the existence of androgyny. She then went on to examine the restrictiveness of stereotypes and the flexibility of an androgynous orientation, finding

that, as predicted, sex-typed individuals were restricted in their choice
of everyday behaviors, whereas androgynous individuals were quite open in
their choice of everyday behaviors.

Bem also examined the emotional domains of independence and nurturance.
She found that androgynous individuals of either sex were willing to perform
behaviors that are considered in our culture as unsuitable for that sex and
that they functioned effectively in both the instrumental and expressive
domains. Speaking of very feminine women, Bem suggests that the major
effect of excessive femininity "may not be to inhibit instrumental or mas-
culine behaviors per se, but to inhibit any behavior at all in a situation
where the 'appropriate' behavior is left ambiguous or unspecified" (p. 59).

Bem proposes that "for fully effective and healthy human functioning,
masculinity and femininity must each be tempered by the other, and the two
must be integrated into a more balanced, a more fully human, a truly andro-
gynous personality" (p. 48). Traditionally, as Bem points out, the model
of the ideal or healthy personality included a concept of sexual identity
with three basic components:

> 1) a sexual preference for members of the op-
>   posite sex;
> 2) a sex-role identity as either masculine or
>   feminine, depending upon one's gender; and
> 3) a gender identity, a secure sense of one's
>   maleness or femaleness (p. 48).

McClelland and Watt (1968), in their theory relating schizophrenia to
sex-identity alienation, spoke of the components of sex-role identity
being arranged in a hierarchy of importance. At the top of this hierarchy
they placed gender identity which implicitly includes the three basic com-
ponents mentioned by Bem.

In defending the androgynous model of the healthy personality, Bem
contends, with respect to the first component, that "one's sexual preference

ought ultimately to be considered orthogonal to any concept of mental health or ideal personality" (p. 49). In her view, the terms "heterosexual" and "homosexual" should be used to describe acts rather than persons. She argues that "compulsive exclusivity in one's sexual responsiveness, whether homosexual or heterosexual, may be the product of a repressive society which forces us to label ourselves as one or the other" (p. 49).

With respect to the second component of the concept of sexual identity, Bem contends that masculinity and femininity, when represented in extreme form, may each become negative and even destructive. Extreme femininity untempered by a sufficient concern for one's own needs as an individual, may produce unhealthy dependency and self-denial. On the other hand, extreme masculinity, untempered by a sufficient concern for the needs of others, may produce exploitation and arrogance. She states: "limiting a person's ability to respond in one or the other of these two complementary domains thus seems tragically and unnecessarily destructive of human potential" (p. 50). In Bem's view, the androgynous personality would represent the very best of what masculinity and femininity have to offer and would cancel out the more negative exaggerations of masculinity and femininity.

In discussing the first two components of the traditional concept of sexual identity, Bem is clearly iconoclastic. She proposes that sexual preference be considered as relevant only to the individual's own love and pleasure and not at all to sexual identity, and she suggests that "the best sex-role identity is no sex-role identity" (p. 60). However, with respect to the third component, Bem maintains that psychological health must necessarily include having a healthy sense of one's maleness or femaleness, or in other words, a secure gender identity. Even in a psychologically androgynous society, there will continue to be a male sex and a female sex, and one's gender will continue to have certain profound physical implications.

In Bem's view, "a healthy sense of maleness or femaleness involves little more than being able to look into the mirror and to be comfortable with the body that one sees there" (p. 61). But beyond this feeling of being comfortable with it, one's gender need have no other influence on one's behavior or life style. Bem argues that a healthy sense of one's maleness or femaleness is all the more possible when one is free from the artificial constraints of gender and accepts as given the fact that one is male or female in exactly the same sense that one accepts as given the fact that one is human. In her words:

> Then and only then will we be able to consider
> the fact of our maleness and femaleness to be so
> self-evident and non-problematic that it rarely
> ever occurs to us to think about it, to assert
> that it is true, to fear that it might be in
> jeopardy, or to wish that it were otherwise (p. 61).

Block's (1973) definition of gender or sexual identity is very similar to that of Bem's. She states:

> Sexual identity means, or will mean, the earning
> of a sense of self in which there is a recogni-
> tion of gender secure enough to permit the indivi-
> dual to manifest human qualities our society, un-
> til now, has labeled as unmanly or unwomanly (p. 64).

Kelly and Worell (1976) studied parent behaviors related to masculine, feminine, and androgynous sex-role orientations in their children, using a measure of psychological androgyny and a parent behavior form. Subjects of each sex were classified into one of four sex-role categories: masculine-typed, feminine-typed, indeterminate, and androgynous. They found that masculine-typed males described cool, unaffectionate relationships with their parents, whereas feminine-typed males reported warmth and involvement with the mother. Androgynous males reported elevated affection from both father and mother. Indeterminate males (those who endorsed relatively few sex-typed characteristics of any kind about themselves) reported cold and

noncognitive relationships with both parents. Since masculine-typed males also reported cool parental relationships, Kelly and Worell conclude that it is "not just the absence of warmth but also the absence of cognitive and intellectual involvement that sets the indeterminate apart from his sex-typed or androgynous counterparts" (p. 848). The masculine-typed women's parents (particularly the father) encouraged, stimulated, and rewarded achievement-orientation, intellectual competence, self-reliance, and other masculine-typed qualities in their children, whereas the feminine-typed women's parents tended to ignore or actively discourage such qualities in their children, and to encourage the traditional "feminine virtues". Indeterminate females reported very little intellectual or achievement encouragement of any kind, resulting in their failure to see themselves as "either ascendant, forceful, and cognitive or as nurturant, supportive, or gentle, and hence as lacking positive interpersonal skills" (p. 849). Relative to masculine-typed women, androgynous subjects described greater maternal involvement and less paternal permissiveness. Mothers of females in the androgynous group appear to have exhibited behaviors which demonstrate the truth of the fact that "inquisitiveness and cognitive encouragement are compatible with conventional, maternal warmth and involvement" (p. 849). Kelly and Worell, as a result of their investigation, drew the following conclusion:

> The likelihood of an androgynous orientation
> is especially enhanced when the same-sex
> parent exhibits cross-typed characteristics.
> Thus the androgynous male describes a history
> of exposure to parents (and, hence, role models)
> who demonstrably expressed warmth and affection.
> The androgynous female reported close interaction
> with a mother who was capable of both conventional
> maternal affection and nonconventional encourage-
> ment of curiosity (p. 849 - italics in original).

Kelly and Worell also reviewed the theories of how sex-typed charac-
teristics are acquired. Most traditional theorists (Freud, 1925, 1949;
Maccoby, 1959; Mussen and Distler, 1959; Sears, 1957; Whiting and Child,
1953) see the acquisition of masculine and feminine behaviors as the pro-
duct of an antecedent identification process. Thus gender-appropriate
typing is associated with affectionate relationships and identification
between the child and the same-sex parent. Social learning theorists
(Bandura and Walters, 1963; Heilbrun, 1973; Mischel, 1966) view the ac-
quisition of masculine and feminine behaviors as the product of imitative
and vicarious learning experiences, and of direct reinforcement of beha-
viors that happen to be culturally sex-typed but without postulating an
underlying identification process. Since androgynous persons exhibit
both masculine and feminine behavior characteristics almost equally, Kelly
and Worell assumed that they were reinforced for both forms of behavior
by their parents rather than that they experienced a defective identifica-
tion and associated androgyny in offspring with "parental modeling and
encouragement of ascendant, forceful, and cognitive as well as emotional,
affective, and sensitive behaviors" (p. 844). Results of their study ap-
pear to be consistent with a social learning theory of sex-role acquisition.

Minuchin (1976) examined the effect of "traditional" and "modern"
patterns of child-rearing and educational ideology on middle-class children
in terms of sex-typing and non-sex-typing. The goal of the study was to in-
vestigate how the changing expectations of parents and teachers are re-
flected in children. She defined traditional families as "those that stress
the social acceptability of the child's behavior and [her] adaptation to
the expectations and standards of [her] society" (p. 210). She defined
modern families as "those that stress the individual child's needs and rate
of growth" (p. 210).

Minuchin summarized data regarding attitudes about sex-role advantages and social sex images as follows:

1) There is a group trend toward stated prefe-
rence for one's own sex and toward conven-
tional role imagery, but this trend is more
consistently characteristic of children from
traditional backgrounds. More open attitudes
are associated, as predicted, with more modern
backgrounds.

2) An open stance toward sex-role preferences is
more characteristic of the girls than the boys.
It is particularly characteristic of the girls
from schools and homes with modern orientations
and from families of higher socio-economic status.

3) A clearly stated preference for opposite sex roles
is rare in this sample and not systematically re-
lated to either modern or traditional backgrounds.

4) Both school and home orientation appear to in-
fluence these attitudes (p. 215).

She summarized the data on sex-typing in play and fantasy as follows:

1) There is a substantial group trend toward sex-
typical reactions and concerns, but this trend
is more characteristic of children from tradi-
tional backgrounds. Less sex-typical reactions
are associated, as predicted, with more modern
backgrounds (....)

2) Girls from modern backgrounds are particularly
apt to depart from sex-typed expectations.

3) In areas where sex-typed expectations are par-
ticularly strong for one sex (aggression in
boys, family orientation and dependence in
girls), variability of reaction within that
sex is relatively great. Higher aggression
in boys and stronger family orientation and
dependence in girls are associated with more
traditional backgrounds.

4) The influence of family orientation is more
evident (...) than that of the school (p. 219).

Block (1973), using adult subjects from two longitudinal studies, constructed four patterns of socialization and sex-role variables and related these to parental characteristics. Subjects in her "low-sex-

appropriate, high-socialized" group grew up in families where the parents offered more complex, less traditional sex-role differentiations as a model for their children. Neither parent exemplified the typical cultural sex-role stereotypes; rather, both parents were salient and provided for their children models of competence, tolerance, consideration of others, and a division of familial responsibilities. In other words, the parental pair could be considered androgynous. As a function of their parents' less stereotyped definitions of masculinity and femininity, children were exposed to a wide range of behavioral and attitudinal possibilities. The females in this group are described by Block as "poised, calm, non-introspective, nonrebellious, contented, gregarious, and conventional" (p. 76). Although they score relatively low on the Femininity scale of the CPI, the psychological characteristics of these women suggest that their sex-role definition "embodies an essentially outgoing and relaxed femininity, lacking however, the feelings of disquietude and tendency to passivity, characteristic of their peers in the high-sex-appropriate, high-socialized group" (p. 76).

Rychlak and Legerski (1967) presented a sociocultural theory of sex-role identification which holds that, in the developmental process, the learning of the appropriate sex-role behaviors is more important for healthy adjustment than is the sex of the parent model. According to this theory, males in our society are expected to adopt an "ascendant-dominant" behavioral role, while females are expected to adopt a "retiring-passive" role. Individuals who depart from these sex-role expectations will be more prone to personal maladjustment than those who conform to them. To support their theory, Rychlak and Legerski presented data from two studies which indicated that the theory held true in the case of males. The data concerning females was ambiguous at best.

Williams (1976) tested Rychlak and Legerski's theory in her study of adolescent females. According to the theory, one could expect that healthy females identify with retiring, passive traits while healthy males identify with ascendant-dominant traits. Williams used the four patterns of sex-role identification described by Rychlak and Legerski:

1) Masculine ascendant-dominant: Is able to give orders, is firm but just, is practical, can get tough when necessary, has confidence in him- (her-) self, says exactly what he (she) thinks;

2) Masculine retiring-passive: Has very little courage, gets along with others, punishes him- (her-) self, is big-hearted and not selfish, is really bitter, is friendly;

3) Feminine ascendant-dominant: Enjoys taking care of other people, is always giving advice, always protects other people, likes everyone to admire her (him), is satisfied with her- (him-) self, is jealous;

4) Feminine retiring-passive: Is tender, lets others make the decisions, depends on other people, wants to be led, likes to be taken care of, is easily embarrassed (Williams, 1976, p. 225).

Williams' results did not support Rychlak and Legerski's theory. She found that "ascendant-dominant girls who saw themselves as like their fathers with respect to these characteristics emerged as the healthiest with respect to current personality functioning" (p. 229).

The studies discussed above indicate that family background and types of parental models play a major role in the development of the sex-typed and androgynous individuals. However, it is not possible to choose one's parents or the pattern of socialization to be followed, and the majority of persons grow up with certain behaviors exaggerated and others under-developed.

Kaplan (1976) proposes the possibility of "resocialization in psycho-therapy" (p. 356), since an androgynous model of mental health requires

that behaviors, which have been either exaggerated or underdeveloped, be brought to a "more reasonable, modulated, middle ground" (p. 356). She contends that among the many traits that have been researched, aggression (and corresponding feelings of anger) and dependency appear with the greatest frequency. In our society, women are trained to suppress feelings of anger and the expression of aggression, while the expression of dependency is encouraged. She views these two traits as "useful take-off points for developing androgynous guidelines for resocialization in therapy" (p. 356), although, as she indicates, there are numerous other problem areas for women that merit similar consideration. The same process of resocialization through therapy can be applied with men and children, of course.

G. The Masculinity-Femininity Construct

Constantinople (1973) contends that the terms "masculinity" and "femininity" are among the "muddiest concepts in the psychologist's vocabulary" (p. 390). She draws an analogy with the use of the term "intelligence".

> In both cases, we are dealing with an abstract
> concept that seems to summarize some dimension
> of reality important for many people, but we
> are hard pressed as scientists to come up with
> any clear definition of the concept or indeed
> any unexceptionable criteria for its measure-
> ment (p. 390).

A search for definitions of masculinity and femininity related to some theoretical position leads almost nowhere.

Freud, in speaking of masculinity and femininity, was more circumspect than he had been on most other issues. He distinguished three uses of the concepts "masculine" and "feminine". He saw the terms being used sometimes in the sense of activity and passivity; sometimes in a biological sense; and sometimes in a sociological sense. Freud considered the first of these three meanings as the essential one and the most serviceable in psychoanalysis, although he never actually equated "masculine" and "active"

or "feminine" and "passive", not considering it wise to do so. "Masculine" and "feminine", in a biological sense, are characterized by the presence of spermatoza or ova and by their corresponding functions. As a rule, Freud pointed out, activity and related phenomena such as greater muscular development, greater intensity of libido, aggressiveness, etc., are linked with biological masculinity. However, he noted, there are exceptions to this rule in certain animal species; therefore, the distinction is not absolute. The sociological meaning arises from the observation of actually existing "masculine" and "feminine" individuals. Such observation reveals that pure masculinity and femininity cannot be found either in a biological or psychological sense. Because of the difficulties he saw in the use of the terms "masculinity" and "femininity", Freud preferred the concept of "bisexuality", which he explained as follows: "Every individual (...) displays a mixture of the character-traits belonging to his own and and to the opposite sex; and he shows a combination of activity and passivity whether or not these last character traits tally with his biological ones" (1905, p. 220). According to Freud, it was a person's constitutional bisexuality which influenced object choice and the degree of that individual's "masculinity" and "femininity". Freud's concept of "bisexuality" approaches the concept of androgyny.

Jung (1956), at one time a disciple of Freud, based his analytical psychology on the notion of the existence of both "masculine" and "feminine" polarities in each individual, which he named "animus" and "anima". He recognized that "masculinity" and "femininity" are "social concepts that refer to a society's idea about what men and women are supposed to be" (cited in Deckard, 1975, p. 25). Maslow (1968) also implicitly recognized the development of both "masculine" and "feminine" traits in his highly self-actualizing individual.

Some of Freud's followers were much more narrow in their views on the issue than he was himself. Deutsch (1944, 1945) did not heed Freud's warning that it was unwise and improper to equate "masculinity" and "activity", "femininity" and "passivity", since these equations are the central basis of Deutsch's psychology of women. She saw passivity, an attitude of receptive waiting and expectancy, as the central attribute of femininity, a general principle which has a biological origin in the female anatomy, body hormones, and reproductive functions.

Farnham and Lundberg (1947) proposed a definition of masculinity and femininity which they considered to be "more economical, direct, and deeply penetrating" (p. 381) than the method used by Terman and Miles (1936) who, as shall be seen, defined it in terms of characteristics predominantly occurring in each sex. Farnham and Lundberg's definition applied equally to both sexes. It consisted in "acceptance and assertion of the reproductive function" (p. 382). They stated:

> (...) basic masculinity and femininity are determined by the emotional attitudes of any man or woman to his or her reproductive function. Basic masculinity or femininity is impaired in proportion as acceptance and assertion of the reproductive function is in any way qualified or denied; all other attitudes are colored by this fundamental one toward the reproductive function - the most basic drive after self-preservation (pp. 381-382, italics in original).

Thus, "engagement in sexual relations with reproduction as the goal" (p. 382) was, according to Farnham and Lundberg, the essence of masculinity and femininity. Consequently, "bachelor and spinster both represent examples of impaired masculinity and femininity" (p. 382). The same applies to childless married couples, whether or not their childlessness is due to biological or psychological factors. In Farnham and Lundberg's view, neither masculinity or femininity "will permit itself to be deflected from

some substantial realization of its reproductive goal" (p. 386). Thus,
male creativity is held to be a sublimation of the reproductive process,
a compensation for the male inability to give birth to children. To sup-
port their thesis, Farnham and Lundberg point out that "there have been
scores of (...) bachelor creators whose work has been of outstanding con-
sequence in the history of man" (p. 383), and that direct sublimation of
reproductive function in creative work is much less among women than among
men, as evidenced by "women's historic inability to distinguish themselves
in objective creative work" (p. 384).

Bettelheim (1965), Erikson (1965), Mead (1949), Montagu (1954), and
Rheingold (1964) also made a close parallel, if not an actual equation, of
femininity with motherhood which they saw as the ultimate goal of the
healthy woman.

Parson and Bales (1955) associated masculinity with an instrumental
orientation (i.e. a cognitive focus on getting the job done or the problem
solved), and femininity with an expressive orientation (i.e. an affective
concern for the welfare of others and the harmony of the group). In a
similar vein, Bakan (1966) suggested that masculinity is associated with
an "agentic" orientation (i.e. a concern for oneself as an individual which
manifests itself in self-protection, self-assertion, and self-expansion)
and that femininity is associated with a "communal" orientation (i.e. a
concern for the relationship between oneself and others manifesting itself
in the sense of being at one with other individuals). Bakan saw the miti-
gation of agency and communion to be the fundamental task of every organism,
and emphasized, as did Bem (1976) in her defense of psychological androgyny,
the need for balance and integration, for the tempering of masculinity with
femininity, and femininity with masculinity.

Using an empirical approach to generate a definition of the constructs of masculinity and femininity, one finds that the common factor in most tests designed to measure the degree of masculinity or femininity in subjects is reliance on an item's ability to discriminate between the responses of male and female subjects. Therefore, M-F is defined at least partially in terms of sex differences in response. However, the content of such items varies tremendously both within and between tests. In some cases, items appear to be related to some intuitive definition of masculinity and femininity; others are based on observation of traits predominantly occurring in each sex; still others are based on stereotypes, while in other cases the content seems to be unrelated to any identifiable definition of the construct to be measured.

According to Constantinople (1973), the most generalized definitions of the terms "masculinity" and "femininity" by test developers are that "they are relatively enduring traits which are more or less rooted in anatomy, physiology, and early experience, and which generally serve to distinguish males from females in appearance, attitudes, and behavior" (p. 390).

The relationship between a theoretical definition and measures of the M-F construct is further complicated, according to Constantinople, by confusion with related terms such as "sex-role identification", "sex-role preference", and "sex-role adoption". Lynn (1966) has defined these terms as follows: "Sex-role identification (...) refers to the internalization of the role typical of a given sex in a particular culture and to the unconscious reactions characteristic of that role" (p. 43 - italics in original). "Sex-role preference refers to the desire to adopt the behavior associated with one sex or the other or the perception of such behavior as preferable or more desirable" (p. 50 - italics in original). "Sex-role adoption refers to the overt behavior characteristics of a given sex"

(p. 51 - italics in original). Existing M-F tests tend to confound items that appear to be more directly related to sex-role adoption, sex-role identification, and sex-role preference. It is quite possible, and even probable, that these three aspects may underlie and/or be included in M-F; however, it is essential that the interrelationships among these constructs be clarified in order to arrive at a clear definition of the M-F construct itself.

A further problem in M-F measurement comes from the assumption that deviation from the norm of one's own sex implies deviation in sexual orientation, or homosexuality, as well. Still other questions revolve around the notions of uni-dimensionality and bipolarity of masculinity-femininity (Constantinople, 1973; Tresemer, 1975). The notion of uni-dimensionality presents M-F as "a unitary trait to be measured with one total score rather than a set of subtraits which may be more accurately represented and related to other variables through profile scoring" (Constantinople, 1973, p. 394). Most M-F tests operate under the assumption of uni-dimensionality (i.e. that there exists only one dimension of masculinity and of femininity), because the end result is usually a single summary score that ignores various affective and cognitive components or variations in what could be designated as "subtraits".

An even more basic issue is that of bipolarity. Bipolarity implies "a single continuum ranging from one extreme through a zero point to the other but that behaviors defining one end point are opposite to those at the other end and thus should be negatively correlated" (Constantinople, 1973, p. 392 - italics in original). Constantinople and Tresemer (1975) contend that masculinity and femininity are not opposites, and that each should be conceptualized and measured independently in both sexes.

Bipolarity is evident in M-F test construction in at least three ways, as outlined by Constantinople (1973):

>   1) the dependence on biological sex alone as the
>   appropriate criterion for an item's M-F rele-
>   vance, since item selection is usually based
>   solely on its ability to discriminate the
>   responses of the two sexes;
>
>   2) the implication that the opposite of a mascu-
>   line response is necessarily indicative of
>   femininity especially in tests where only
>   two options are provided; and
>
>   3) the use of a single M-F score which is based
>   on the algebraic summation of M and F responses
>   and places the individual somewhere on a single
>   bipolar dimension (p. 392).

Constantinople points out that item content, sex-role stereotypy, and social desirability interact in measures of M-F, further complicating the measurement. It has also been found that demographic factors such as social class, geographic location, and level of education are associated with M-F scores. Gough (1964), Strong (1943), Terman and Miles (1936), and Webster (1956) have found that education tends to moderate M-F scores in both males and females. Goodstein (1954) and Disher (1942) found that subjects from certain geographic locations tended to score significantly higher than similar samples from other locations. Kaplan (1967) and Vincent (1966) offer evidence that M-F scores become less extreme as one moves up the social ladder. Vincent attributed this discrepancy, at least in part, to a number of items which he found to be time and/or culture-bound. Age is also associated with M-F scores. Both Terman and Miles (1936) and Strong (1943) found that there was increasing femininity with age among males, but their data on changes among females is conflicting. Gough (1964) found evidence of increasing femininity among males and increasing mascu- linity among females in the age range of 15 to 25, although educational differences compounded these effects. Barrows and Zucherman (1960) also

found evidence of increasing femininity among male white-collar workers on the MMPI and the SVIB. Research with children indicates that masculinity is more salient at an earlier age and more persistent across age groups for boys than femininity is for girls. This may be the result of greater social pressure toward sex-role adoption in boys. Vroegh (1971) found that masculinity and femininity scores among males and females were most extreme at puberty and suggested that this is a result of pressure to maximize sex differences, at the age of puberty, in order that gender identity may be stabilized.

A number of tests have been developed over the years which purport to measure the elusive masculinity-femininity construct. These tests share most of the drawbacks discussed above. The following paragraphs review these various measures.

In their pioneer study of masculinity-femininity, Terman and Miles (1936) pointed out three sources of confusion surrounding the M-F construct. These have been summarized by Constantinople (1973) as follows:

> 1) our too ready acceptance of overt behavior as the appropriate criteria;
>
> 2) lack of sufficiently general sampling opportunities; and
>
> 3) the traditional biases which we all carry (...) (p. 392).

Because of these difficulties, Terman and Miles (1936) offered no definitions of the M-F trait, and acknowledged that their measurement process was crude and inexact, due to the vagueness of the concept itself as well as to the state of psychometric development. They believed in "mental masculinity and femininity" as a central trait of personality, as a core around which the rest of the personality was formed. By increasing the range of demonstrable differences between the sexes, Terman and Miles

proposed to extend the generality of M-F measurement. In choosing the domains of behavior to be included in their test, they relied heavily on known findings of sex differences. Items were selected for inclusion on the basis of the extent to which they yielded significant sex differences in responses in a number of different groups tested. The final form of the test included seven exercises: word association, ink-blot association, information, interests, introversion, emotional and ethical attitudes, and opinions. Although there is evidence in the test as a whole that masculinity-femininity is viewed as a multi-dimensional trait, the scoring procedure, which assigns a plus (+) for a masculine response and a minus (-) for a feminine response, implies uni-dimensionality. Bipolarity is assumed in the scoring of both individual items and the test as a whole.

Although Terman and Miles repeatedly acknowledged the crudeness and inadequacies of their M-F measure, they nevertheless set the pattern which has since been followed, and subsequent measures continue to assume the uni-dimensionality and bipolarity of the M-F construct.

Strong (1936) included an M-F scale in his original Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB). This scale consisted of sex-differentiated responses to 202 of 400 items originally selected to measure vocational interests. Strong did not discuss at length his rationale for including an M-F scale in his Blank, since it was only secondary to his major interest, although he did indicate that it was based on the fact that men and women sought somewhat different careers. He was careful to point out that only items relevant to occupational interests are measured, and that he made no diagnostic implications for a highly divergent M-F score. It should be noted that since 1936, the SVIB has undergone a number of revisions (Campbell, 1966, 1969). Comments above apply mainly to the original SVIB.

The M-F scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) was designed, according to the test manual (Hathaway and McKinley, 1943) to measure "the tendency toward masculinity or femininity of interest patterns" (p. 5), but its major aim is to identify sexual inversion in males. The scale was based on an intensive study of 17 young males showing evidence of a general tendency toward sexual inversion (e.g. mannerisms, voice pattern, fat distribution, etc.). The 60 items retained in the final version of the scale differentiated between the 17 inverts and 117 enlisted men and 108 female airline workers. A high T score on the MMPI is thought to be related to homosexuality in men, but there is no such diagnostic implication in a high T score for women. Efforts to establish a relationship between a high T score and inversion in women have not been successful. The M-F scale of the MMPI is very widely used in research. However, caution should be exercised in its use, since homosexuality is explicitly included in the definition of the construct. Furthermore, the nature and size of the criterion groups raise doubts about its adequacy as a measure of M-F in the general population.

Dahlstrom and Welsh (1960) identified four dimensions characterizing the item content of the MMPI. These dimensions were ego sensitivity, sexual identification, altruism, and endorsement of culturally feminine occupations and denial of culturally masculine occupations. Dempsey (1963) and Graham et al. (1971) provided further evidence for the multi-dimensionality of the MMPI's M-F scale. These studies also point out that masculine and feminine interests are separate categories or factors, rather than the opposite ends of a single bipolar continuum. Therefore, the problems of uni-dimensionality and bipolarity are not an issue, as far as the MMPI is concerned.

The California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1964) contains a
Femininity (Fe) scale of 38 items which has the purpose of defining a
"personological syndrome" that can be called masculine at one pole and
feminine at the other. The 500 items in the original scale (Gough, 1952)
were written not with masculinity-femininity in mind, but for use in a
study of political participation. An unspecified number of items, the
content of which was thought to be relevant to the psychological concept
of femininity, was added. The pool of items was administered to successive
samples of high school and college students, and was finally reduced to
58 items all of which revealed significant differences between males and
females. Gough identified 6 clusters into which the content of the 58-
item scale falls: (a) emphasis on white-collar work; (b) sensitivity to
social interaction; (c) social timidity and lack of confidence; (d) com-
passion and sympathy; (e) lack of interest in abstract, political issues;
and (f) restraint and caution vs. braggadoccio. However, no factor analy-
sis of the Fe scale was carried out at this time. Gough's summary descrip-
tion of these item clusters reveals those generally found in M-F tests, and
can be identified as stereotypic aspects of the masculinity-femininity con-
struct.

Gough (1952) presented data from a special study of 10 high- and 10
low-scoring males on the Fe scale. Nine judges (psychologists) rated them
on an adjective checklist. High scorers were more often described by ad-
jectives such as "affectionate", "courageous", "dependent", "gentle",
"honest", "modest", "sensitive", "tolerant". Low scorers were described
as "ambitious", "cool", "dignified", "hard-headed", "humorless", "self-
centered", "self-confident", "tense", "wary".

Adjective checklists (Berdie, 1959; Heilbrun, 1964), a word associa-
tion test (Goodenough, 1946), and a sematic differential technique (Reece,

1964) are other verbal measures of M-F in adults, which do not involve the standard inventory or questionnaire format. Items, in general, were selected on the basis of the differential response patterns of the two sex groups, with the hope that the items would be less tainted by sex-role stereotypes thus producing a "truer" measure of the masculinity-femininity construct. The issues of uni-dimensionality and bipolarity are not dealt with in any of these measures.

A number of non-verbal projective tests have also been developed. These include the Symbol Preference Test (Franck, 1946), the Drawing Completion Test (Franck and Rosen, 1949), and the Welsh Figure Preference Test (Welsh, 1959).

The Symbol Preference Test (Franck, 1946) was devised with the intent that it might reveal sex differences that were relatively "culture-free". It consists of 9 pairs of more or less abstract designs representing sex symbols. Each pair consists of one male and one female symbol; the subject is asked to indicate which of the two symbols attract her/him more. Franck found that male symbols were preferred over female symbols by both men and women, and that men showed a stronger preference for female symbols than did women. It was also found that some subjects made narcissistic choices, while others chose on the basis of object relations.

The Drawing Completion Test (Franck and Rosen, 1949) is another non-verbal projective test. The subject is asked to complete 36 incomplete drawings in any way that she/he desires. Sex differences, similar to those Erikson (1958) found in the spatial features of the play-constructions of boys and girls, are evident in the completed drawings. Men tend to close the stimulus whereas women tend to leave it open; men also expand outwardly from the stimulus, while women elaborate internally. The scoring manual

provides objective criteria for scoring each drawing as masculine or feminine.

The Welsh Figure Preference Test (Welsh, 1959) includes 100 figures or abstract drawings representing nothing in particular. The subject is asked to indicate whether she/he likes or dislikes each drawing or figure. Some 40 of the items have been found to differentiate males from females, and together they make up a femininity key.

The above-mentioned non-verbal projective tests are thought to tap a relatively more unconscious assessment of oneself as "masculine" or "feminine" than do verbal measures. The low intercorrelations of the non-verbal with the verbal measures is explained by the notion that a discrepancy between conscious and unconscious components is an important moderator of relationships to other variables (Lansky, 1960). The criterion for these non-verbal projective measures as tests of M-F is their ability to discriminate the responses of men from those of women.

The Masculinity (M) scale of the Guilford-Zimmerman (1949) Temperament Survey was one of many scales devised by Guilford and his colleagues in their attempts to discover basic dimensions of personality through factor-analytic procedures. It first appeared as a factor in the analysis of 36 items thought to measure introversion-extroversion. A new questionnaire consisting of 123 items relevant to the five factors found in the original analysis was administered to approximately 800 college students of both sexes. Criterion groups for evaluation of the new items were formed on the basis of weighted scores on the original items for each of the factors, and top and bottom quartiles were compared. Consequently, the criterion for the M scale was score rather than sex. Because of item content and extensive overlapping, Guilford questioned whether the M factor represented a masculine ideal rather than a sex difference, or whether it might not more

appropriately be considered as a measure of dominance or ascendance-sub-mission. Although he concluded that the M scale needed more refinement, Guilford and Guilford (1936) included it as a scale in the GAMIN inventory. (The scales included general activity, ascendance vs. submission, masculinity vs. femininity, confidence vs. inferiority feelings, and calmness-composure vs. nervosity.)

The M scale as it appears in Inventory GAMIN has 40 items of somewhat heterogeneous content. These items were later clustered into six tests on the basis of content and cluster scores, as follows: fearfulness, inhibition of emotional expression, masculine vocational interests, masculine avocational interests, disgustfulness, and sympathy. Factor M, with a reduction from 40 to 30 items, was incorporated into the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey (1949). Although sex was never used as a criterion for item inclusion in the scale, Guilford points out a point-biserial correlation of .75 with sex of respondent, which is evidence of the internal validity of the M scale. In their evaluation of the M factor, Guilford and Zimmerman (1956) conclude that, "comparatively speaking, it is not a stable, unitary variable (...) and that it will be defined in any particular analysis by the experimental variables in which there are substantial sex differences" (p. 12). This makes it highly subject to variations due to item content.

Constantinople (1973) and Tresemer (1975) agree that untested assumptions about the uni-dimensional, bipolar nature of the masculinity-femininity construct makes the assessment of mature psychological androgyny almost impossible. A number of recent investigators (Bem, 1974; Block, 1973; Carlson 1971; Spence et al. 1975) in agreement with Constantinople and Tresemer, have proposed an alternate conceptualization "in which masculinity and

femininity are regarded as <u>separate</u> dimensions, each present in varying
degrees in both men and women" (Spence <u>et al</u>., 1975, p. 31 - italics in ori-
ginal).

Bem (1974) and Spence <u>et al</u>. (1975) have attempted to construct new
sex-role inventories which treat masculinity and femininity as two inde-
pendent dimensions, thus making it possible to characterize persons as
having masculine, feminine, or androgynous sex-role orientations on the
basis of their endorsement of particular personality characteristics. In-
cidentally, this new type of inventory overcomes an additional hazard of
the traditional M-F scales, the construction of which seemed to imply
that deviation from the norm of one's own sex in M or F was indicative of
latent or actual homosexuality.

It should be noted that Spence <u>et al</u>. (1975) utilize an "additive
concept of androgyny" whereas Bem (1974) uses a "subtractive concept".
Thus, the androgyny score on Spence <u>et al</u>.'s Personal Attributes Question-
naire (1974) is defined as the <u>sum</u> of the subject's masculinity and femi-
ninity, and androgynous individuals are seen as having a high proportion
of characteristics typical of both sexes. Following this system, four
categories are obtained: low masculine and low feminine; low masculine
and high feminine; high masculine and low feminine; high masculine and
high feminine, i. e. androgynous. The androgyny score derived from the
Bem Sex-Role Inventory is defined as the <u>difference</u> between the subject's
masculinity and femininity scores, and results in a kind of bipolar scale
ranging from feminine through androgynous to masculine. Consequently,
some discrepancies in classification can be expected between the two sys-
tems; for example, individuals equally low in both components would be
classified as androgynous by Bem and at the opposite extreme by Spence <u>et</u>
<u>al</u>.

The writer has chosen to use Bem's Sex-Role Inventory, since it has been subjected to more research and validation studies than Spence et al.'s Personal Attributes Questionnaire, and since it is also more readily available. The many limitations of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory are recognized by the writer. Much more intensive and extensive study of the concept of androgyny, and further refinement and validation of instruments purporting to measure androgyny, is required. The present study is but one small step in this direction.

H.   The Investigation

The preceding review of the literature suggests the following conclusions:

1) Adherence to the traditional feminine role and sex-role stereotypes is detrimental to the development of women as full, complete, self-actualizing persons.

2) Freedom form the traditional feminine role and sex-role stereotypes aids in the full development of the person.

Several questions arise from these conclusions:

1) Do traditionalists and liberationists differ significantly in self-actualizing characteristics?

2) Do traditionalists and liberationists differ significantly in their androgynous orientation?

3) How does a middle group which is neither highly traditionalist nor highly liberationist compare with the other two groups in self-actualizing characteristics?

4) How does this middle group compare with traditionalist and liberationist groups in its androgynous orientation?

5) What is the relationship between androgynous orientation and self-actualization?

This investigation was designed for a threefold purpose:

1) to investigate the relationship between women's self-reported degree of adherence to or liberation from the traditional feminine role and their corresponding levels of self-actualization;

2) to investigate the relationship between women's self-reported degree of adherence to or liberation from the traditional feminine role and their degree of endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics, and consequently their androgynous orientation; and

3) to investigate the relationship between women's degree of androgynous orientation and their corresponding levels of self-actualization.

Research hypotheses can be stated as follows:

1) Traditionalist, middle, and liberationist groups will differ significantly in self-actualizing characteristics as determined by scores on the Personal Orientation Inventory, in the direction of greater self-actualizing in the liberationist group.

2) Traditionalist, middle, and liberationist groups will differ significantly in their degree of endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics as determined by scores on the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, and consequently in their androgynous orientation, in the direction of greater androgyny in the liberationist group.

3) Androgynous, non-androgynous, and middle groups will differ significantly in self-actualizing characteristics as determined by scores on the Personal Orientation Inventory, in the direction of greater self-actualizing in the androgynous group.

The many limitations besetting the present investigation are recognized and readily acknowledged. The major limitations are outlined below:

1) The study attempts to get at an underlying psychological process, that of self-actualization, which is far less tangible than many behavioral and/or sociological variables.

2) The study focuses in part on the unfamiliar concept of psychological androgyny, as yet a relatively new, and consequently, an ill-defined, unexplored and uncharted field of investigation.

3) Well-validated and reliable instruments which distinguish between traditional and liberated women, between androgynous and non-androgynous women, are not readily available.

For purposes of the present investigation, terms are defined as follows:

1) Traditionalist group: those women who predominantly agreed with traditional sex-role attitudes as defined by the total score on the SRI. The higher the total score the more traditional the response pattern.

2) Liberationist group: those women who predominantly disagreed with traditional sex-role attitudes (agreed with liberationist statements) as defined by the total score on the SRI. The lower the total score the more liberationist (less traditional) the response pattern.

3) Middle group: those women who were neither highly traditionalist nor highly liberationist as defined by the total score in the SRI.

4) Androgynous group: those women who equally endorsed masculine and feminine attributes on the BSRI, resulting in a low difference score. The closer this difference score was to zero, the more androgynous the response pattern.

5) Non-androgynous group: those women who either endorsed feminine attributes while simultaneously rejecting masculine attributes, or endorsed masculine attributes while simultaneously rejecting feminine attributes, on the BSRI, resulting in a high difference score. The greater the absolute value of the difference score, the less androgynous the response pattern.

6) Middle group: those women who were neither highly androgynous nor highly non-androgynous in their endorsement of masculine and feminine a-tributes on the BSRI.

7) Self-actualizing characteristics: those characteristics judged to be important elements in the development of self-actualizing persons and included in either the scales or subscales of the POI. These characteristics are outlined and defined in Appendix II.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the instruments used in the investigation, describes the sample, and outlines the treatment of data.

A.   Instruments

The instruments used in the study are the following: the Sex-Role Inventory (Schmidt, 1973); the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974); the Personal Orientation Inventory (Shostrom, 1974). The following pages will describe these instruments in detail.

Sex-Role Inventory

The Sex-Role Inventory (hereinafter referred to as the SRI) was developed in order to determine current sex-role attitudes, preferences, and life-style choices of professionally-educated married women. The SRI established itself as a valid instrument capable of differentiating between traditional and liberationist groups, as well as among groups with differing life styles, sex-role attitudes and preferences, and levels of cognitive dissonance.

The SRI, as designed by Schmidt, consists of six sections:

    Section A: Biographical data
    Section B: Early childhood data
    Section C: Sex-role attitudes
    Section D: Dissonance related to life-style decision
    Section E: Sex-role preference
    Section F: Self-evaluation

Each section is conceptually and statistically independent of the other five sections. The section most pertinent to the present study is Section C; it alone is used and referred to for the sake of simplicity as the SRI.

Section C consists of 55 attitude statements which differentiated between known traditionalists and known liberationists in Schmidt's pilot project. Each item has five response possibilities: strongly agree,

somewhat agree, no opinion, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree. The
total score for Section C places respondents in one of three groups regarding
their sex-role attitudes: a traditionalist group, a middle group, and a
liberationist group. Exact scoring procedures are described in Appendix
II.

Schmidt determined a test-retest reliability of r = .975 (Kr 20) in
relation to the total score in Section C, which suggests that this portion
of the SRI measures what it is intended to measure with a high degree of
consistency.

A Biographical Data Questionnaire, with ideas borrowed freely from
Section A of Schmidt's SRI, was devised for purposes of the present study.

Section C of the Sex-Role Inventory and the Biographical Data Ques-
tionnaire are included in Appendix I.

Bem Sex-Role Inventory

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (hereinafter referred to as the BSRI)
contains a number of features that distinguish it from other masculinity-
femininity scales described in the preceding chapter. First, it includes
both a Masculinity (M) scale and a Femininity (F) scale, each of which
contains 20 personality characteristics. Second, because the BSRI was
founded upon a conception of the sex-typed person as someone who has in-
ternalized society's sex-typed standards of desirable behavior for men and
women, these personality characteristics were selected as masculine or fe-
minine on the basis of sex-typed social desirability and not on the basis
of differential endorsement by males and females, as most other inventories
have done. That is, a characteristic qualified as masculine if it was
judged to be more desirable in our society for a man than for a woman, and
it qualified as feminine if it was judged to be more desirable for a woman
than for a man. Third, the BSRI characterizes a person as masculine,

feminine, or androgynous as a function of the difference between her (or his) endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics. A person is thus sex-typed, whether masculine or feminine, to the extent that this difference score is high, and androgynous to the extent that this difference score is low. Finally, the BSRI also includes a Social Desirability scale that is completely neutral with respect to sex. This scale was utilized during the development of the BSRI to ensure that the inventory would not simply be tapping a general tendency to endorse socially desirable traits. It now serves primarily to provide a neutral context for the Masculinity and Femininity scales, and its use is considered optional. The Social Desirability scale is not considered in the present study.

The BSRI challenges the traditional assumption that it is the sex-typed person who typifies mental health, and supports the alternative view of androgyny as a more human standard of psychological well-being.

The BSRI requires the subject to indicate on a 7-point scale how well each of 60 personality characteristics describes herself (or himself). The scale ranges from 1 ("never true") to 7 ("always true"). On the basis of her (or his) responses, each subject receives three major scores: a Masculinity (M) score, a Femininity (F) score, and most important, an Androgyny (A) score. In addition, a Social Desirability score can be computed, if it serves the purposes of the study.

The M and F scores indicate the extent to which a person endorses masculine and feminine personality characteristics as self-descriptive. Masculinity equals the mean self-rating for all endorsed masculine items, and Femininity equals the mean self-rating for all endorsed feminine items. Both mean self-ratings can range from 1 through 7. These two scores are logically independent.

The Androgyny score reflects the relative amounts of masculinity and femininity that a person includes in her (or his) self-description and, as such, it best characterizes the nature of the person's sex-role orientation. Bem (1974) utilized a studentized t ratio for the difference between a subject's masculine and feminine self-endorsement because of certain perceived conceptual advantages. However, she also authorized the utilization of a simple difference score (Femininity minus Masculinity) as the index of Androgyny. This simpler method was used in the present study. The greater the absolute value of the Androgyny score, the more the person is sex-typed (or sex-reversed), with high positive scores indicating femininity and high negative scores indicating masculinity. A feminine sex-role orientation thus represents not only the endorsement of feminine attributes but the simultaneous rejection of masculine attributes. Similarly, a masculine sex-role orientation represents not only the endorsement of masculine attributes, but the simultaneous rejection of feminine attributes. In contrast, the closer the Androgyny score is to zero, the more the person is androgynous. An androgynous sex-role orientation represents the equal or near equal endorsement of both masculine and feminine attributes.

The BSRI is included in Appendix I. A classification of items as masculine, feminine, or neutral is included in Appendix II.

Normative data for the BSRI was obtained through administration of the instrument to approximately 1000 college and university students of both sexes in two different samples. In order to estimate the internal consistency of the BSRI, coefficient alpha was computed separately for the Masculinity, Femininity, and Social Desirability scores of the subjects in each of the two normative samples. The results showed all three scores to be highly reliable in the university sample (Masculinity = .86;

Femininity = .80; Social Desirability = .75) and in the college sample
(Masculinity = .80; Femininity = .82; Social Desirability = .70). The
reliability of the Androgyny difference score was .85 for the university
sample and .86 for the college sample. The Masculinity and Femininity
scores of the BSRI were conceptualized as logically independent. The
results from the two normative samples revealed them to be empirically
independent as well (university sample: male r = .11, female r = -.14;
college sample: male r = -.02, female r = -.07). The BSRI was administered
for a second time to 28 males and 28 females from the university sample,
approximately four weeks after the first administration, in order to de-
termine test-retest reliability. Product moment correlations were com-
puted between the four scores obtained at each administration. All four
scores proved to be highly reliable over the four-week interval (Masculini-
ty r = .90; Femininity r = .90; Androgyny r = .93; Social Desirability r
= .89).

Personal Orientation Inventory

The Personal Orientation Inventory (hereinafter referred to as the
POI) was developed to meet the need for a comprehensive measure of beha-
viors and values seen to be of importance in the development of the self-
actualizing person. Maslow (1968, 1970) developed the idea of the self-
actualizing person - a person who is more fully functioning and lives a
more enriched life than does the average person. Such an individual is
seen as developing and utilizing all of her (or his) unique capabilities
or potentialities, free of the inhibitions and emotional turmoil of those
less self-actualizing. Such a person is seen, by the proponents of self-
actualizing theories, as the goal of the psychotherapeutic process.

The POI consists of 150 two-choice comparative value and behavior
judgments. It has two basic scales and ten subscales. The two basic scales

of personal orientation measure "inner-directed support" (127 items) and "time competence" (23 items). Each of the ten subscales was intended to measure some facet considered important in the development of the self-actualizing person: self-actualizing value, existentiality, feeling reactivity, spontaneity, self-regard, self-acceptance, nature of man, synergy, acceptance of aggression, and capacity for intimate contact. Items are scored twice: first, for the two basic scales, and secondly, for the ten subscales. A profile sheet, which converts raw scores to standard scores is available for the POI, and has been used to display the results of the study graphically (Educational and Industrial Testing Service, 1963).

Shostrom (1974) points out that standard scores above the mean of 50 but below a standard score of 60 are considered to be most characteristic of self-actualizing persons. Scores below the mean represent areas in which responses are unlike those of self-actualizing persons. Scores considerably above 60 may be interpreted as "over-enthusiastic" attempts to take the test in accordance with "rightness" rather than true self-report. This has been determined by a series of studies into "fakability" of the POI (see Shostrom, 1974, pp. 20-22).

The Personal Orientation Inventory is included in Appendix I. Scoring categories and descriptions of the scales and subscales are outlined in Appendix II.

Test-retest reliability coefficients, on a sample of 48 undergraduate college students, are .71 for time competence, and .77 for inner-directed support. Coefficients for the subscales range from .52 to .82. Examination of stability of scores over a one-year period produced coefficients ranging from .32 to .74. All these correlations are at a level commensurate with other personality inventories, such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS).

Numerous studies (see Shostrom, 1974) show that the POI does discriminate between clinically-judged self-actualizing and non-self-actualizing groups, and thus has adequate face validity. It also correlates adequately with other measures purporting to measure similar traits (MMPI, Study of Values Scales, 16PF, etc.), and consequently has concurrent validity.

B. The Sample

The research sample consisted of 200 female students, both graduate and undergraduate, attending spring and/or summer session at the University of Alberta in 1977. Although data regarding age, religion, marital status, racial and ethnic background, and field of study of the subjects were obtained for descriptive purposes, these data were not used in the analysis of results or treated statistically. The contention was that it was women's inner attitudes and concept of themselves as women, rather than external criteria such as age, marital status, etc. that were of primary importance in the present study.

Subjects were approached individually or in small groups and asked if they would participate in a study of the views of educated women on a variety of issues surrounding their role as women. Those who agreed to participate were given the instruments contained in a stamped and self-addressed envelope, and were asked to fill in and return the instruments at their convenience. No identification, other than assigned I.D. numbers, was attached to the instruments; however, phone numbers and first names were requested and recorded at the time of distribution of the instruments. After one month, subjects were contacted by telephone, and those who had not yet returned the instruments, were encouraged to complete and return them as soon as possible.

The Introduction to the Study and Directions, provided to subjects, are included in Appendix I.

C.   Treatment of Data

Two independent and separate groupings and statistical analyses were undertaken. Subjects were first grouped according to their scores on the SRI. Three groups were formed: a traditionalist group (T), a middle group (M), and a liberationist group (L). Levels of self-actualizing, according to the Personal Orientation Inventory, and M, F, and A scores according to the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, were determined for these three groups and differences were analyzed statistically, by means of t tests.

The sample was then regrouped, according to their androgynous or non-androgynous orientation, as determined by A scores on the BSRI. Three new group were formed: an androgynous group (A), a middle group (M), and an non-androgynous group (NA). Once again, levels of self-actualizing according to the Personal Orientation Inventory, were determined for these three new groups and differences were analyzed statistically, by means of t tests.

Level of significance was set at $p \leq .05$.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter will present the findings arising from the investigation. Results are organized and presented in terms of related hypotheses. This is followed by a general discussion of findings.

A.   Description of Sample and Groups

Of the 200 subjects who agreed to participate in the study, 72 failed to return the instruments, and 19 of those who did return the instruments had to be excluded because of the subject's failure to adequately complete one or the other of the inventories. This left a total of 109 subjects.

Scores on the SRI were calculated. The highest possible score was 275 and the lowest possible score was 55. The actual range of scores was from 81 through 194. That 33% of subjects with the highest scores were included in the traditionalist group (T), as described in Chapter II. Thus, 36 subjects with scores ranging from 194 through 146 formed Group T. These subjects predominantly agreed with traditional sex-role attitudes as defined by the total score on the SRI. The higher the total score, the more traditional the response pattern. That 33% of subjects with the lowest scores were included in the liberationist group (L), as described in Chapter II. Thus, 36 subjects with scores ranging from 81 through 127 formed Group L. These subjects predominantly agreed with liberationist statements (disagreed with traditional sex-role attitudes) as defined by the total score on the SRI. The lower the total score, the more liberationist the response pattern. That 34% of subjects not included in either the traditionalist or the liberationist group (i.e. those with neither really high nor really low scores) were included in Group M. Thus, 37 subjects with scores ranging from 128 through 145 formed Group M. Table 3 presents means and standard deviations of the groups' scores on the SRI.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations
of SRI Scores

Group	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Traditionalist	36	163	10.0
Middle	37	136	9.0
Liberationist	36	113	10.7
Total	109	137	23.4

Biographical data supplied by the subjects in these three groups, analyzed
and tabled solely for descriptive purposes, are to be found in Appendix III.

Scores of these three groups on the Personal Orientation Inventory
and on the Bem Sex-Role Inventory were determined and analyzed statistical-
ly. These results are discussed in terms of related hypotheses in the
following sections.

Subjects were then regrouped according to their androgyny scores on
the BSRI. The highest possible score (which could only be obtained by a
subject who endorsed all feminine attributes as "always true" while si-
multaneously rejecting all masculine attributes as "never true", or vice-
versa) was 6. The lowest possible score (which could only be obtained by
an individual who endorsed an absolutely equal number of masculine and
feminine attributes with equal scale ratings) was 0. The actual range of
androgyny scores was from $\pm.05$ through ±2.75. That 34% of subjects with
the lowest difference scores (highest androgyny scores) were included in
Group A as described in Chapter II. Thus, 37 subjects with scores ranging
from $\pm.05$ through $\pm.25$ formed Group A. These subjects could be considered
as highly androgynous individuals endorsing nearly equal masculine and
feminine attributes on the BSRI. That 33% of subjects with the highest

difference scores (lowest androgyny scores) were included in Group NA.
as described in Chapter II. Thus, 36 subjects with scores ranging from
+2.75 through + .85 formed Group NA. These subjects could be considered
as quite non-androgynous (highly sex-typed or sex-reversed). That 33%
of subjects who were not included in either Group A or Group NA (i.e.
those with neither really high nor really low scores) were included in
Group M. Thus, 36 subjects with scores ranging from +.75 through +.3
formed Group M. Table 4 presents means and standard deviations of the
groups' scores on the BSRI.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations
of BSRI Scores

Group	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Androgynous	37	.17	.08
Middle	36	.49	.11
Non-androgynous	36	1.31	.48
Total	109	.66	.56

Biographical data arranged according to this new grouping of subjects,
analyzed and tabled solely for descriptive purposes, are to be found in
Appendix III.

Scores of these three new groups on the Personal Orientation Inventory
were determined and analyzed statistically. These results are discussed
in terms of related hypotheses in the following sections.

Self-actualizing characteristics referred to in the following sections
are those included in the scales or subscales of the Personal Orientation
Inventory, as outlined and defined in Appendix II.

B.   Results in Terms of Related Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Traditionalists, middle, and liberationist groups will differ significantly in self-actualizing characteristics as determined by scores on the Personal Orientation Inventory, in the direction of greater self-actualizing in the liberationist group.

Means, standard deviations, t-values, and probabilities of the POI scores for the three groups are presented in Table 5. As indicated in the table, Group L scored higher than Group T on all scales and subscales of the POI, with differences reaching significance at the .05 level (2-tail) on 7 of the 12 variables: inner-directedness, self-actualizing value, existentiality, feeling reactivity, spontaneity, view of the nature of man as constructive, and capacity for intimate contact.

On the basis of these findings, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1) Group L is significantly more inner-directed, independent, and self-supportive than Group T.

2) Group L holds the values of self-actualizing people to a significantly higher degree than Group T.

3) Group L is significantly more flexible than Group T in the application of values.

4) Group L subjects are significantly more sensitive to their own needs and feelings than Group T subjects.

Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations, t-Values
and Probabilities of Scores on the POI

Variable	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	t-Value	Probabilities 1-tail	2-tail
	Group T (n=36)		Group L (n=36)		df = 70		
1	16.5	3.1	17.1	3.5	0.7507	0.228	0.456
2	77.8	13.0	87.9	13.2	3.2446	0.001	0.002*
3	19.3	3.4	21.3	2.6	2.9034	0.002	0.005*
4	18.2	4.6	20.8	4.2	2.5536	0.006	0.013
5	14.6	3.6	17.2	2.9	3.3790	0.001	0.001*
6	10.9	3.0	13.0	3.0	2.9260	0.002	0.005*
7	11.8	2.1	12.7	2.5	1.6398	0.053	0.106
8	14.6	3.2	15.4	4.4	0.7970	0.214	0.428
9	11.0	2.1	12.3	1.6	2.8702	0.003	0.005*
10	6.8	1.6	7.3	1.2	1.6073	0.056	0.113
11	15.7	4.5	16.6	3.5	1.0283	0.153	0.307
12	15.8	4.5	18.7	4.0	2.8783	0.003	0.005*
	Group M (n=37)		Group L (n=36)		df = 71		
1	17.4	2.5	17.1	3.5	-0.5358	0.297	0.594
2	88.3	11.3	87.9	13.2	-0.1424	0.444	0.887
3	21.5	2.5	21.3	2.6	-0.3436	0.366	0.732
4	21.5	4.1	20.8	4.2	-0.7287	0.234	0.469
5	15.7	2.8	17.2	2.9	2.1873	0.016	0.032*
6	13.1	1.9	13.0	3.0	-0.1831	0.428	0.855
7	13.1	2.1	12.7	2.5	-0.8692	0.194	0.388
8	16.0	3.3	15.4	4.4	-0.6704	0.252	0.505
9	12.8	1.6	12.3	1.6	-1.4124	0.081	0.162
10	7.5	1.4	7.3	1.2	-0.6024	0.274	0.549
11	16.7	3.0	16.6	3.5	-0.0485	0.481	0.962
12	18.5	4.1	18.7	4.0	0.2465	0.403	0.806
	Group T (n=36)		Group M (n=37)		df = 71		
1	16.5	3.1	17.4	2.5	1.4578	0.075	0.149
2	77.8	13.0	88.3	11.3	3.6695	0.000	0.001*
3	19.3	3.4	21.5	2.5	3.2796	0.001	0.002*
4	18.2	4.6	21.5	4.1	3.3073	0.001	0.002*
5	14.6	3.6	15.7	2.8	1.5026	0.069	0.137
6	10.9	3.0	13.1	1.9	3.6844	0.000	0.001*
7	11.8	2.1	13.1	2.1	2.7904	0.003	0.007
8	14.6	3.2	16.0	3.3	1.7449	0.043	0.085
9	11.0	2.1	12.8	1.6	4.0654	0.000	0.000*
10	6.8	1.6	7.5	1.4	2.0591	0.022	0.043*
11	15.7	4.5	16.7	3.0	1.1261	0.132	0.264
12	15.8	4.5	18.5	4.1	2.6184	0.005	0.011*

1 Time competent
2 Inner directed
3 Self-actualizing value
4 Existentiality
5 Feeling reactivity
6 Spontaneity
7 Self-regard
8 Self-acceptance
9. Nature of man, constructive
10. Synergy
11. Acceptance of aggression
12. Capacity for intimate contact

5) Group L experiences significantly more freedom than Group T to express feelings behaviorally.

6) Group L's view of the nature of man is significantly more construtive and positive than that of Group T.

7) Group L experiences a significantly greater capacity for intimate contact and warm interpersonal relationships than does Group T.

As indicated in Table 5, Group L scored significantly higher than Group M on feeling reactivity. Group L also scored somewhat higher (though not significantly) on capacity for intimate contact. Group M scored slightly higher (though not significantly) on the other scales and subscales. On the basis of these findings, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1) Group L subjects are significantly more sensitive to their own needs and feelings than Group M subjects.

2) With the above exception, Group L and Group M do not differ significantly in self-actualizing characteristics, as determined by scores on the POI.

As Table 5 indicates, Group M scored higher than Group T on all scales and subscales of the POI, with differences being significant at the .05 level (2-tail) on 8 of the 12 variables: inner-directedness, self-actualizing value, existentiality, spontaneity, self-regard, view of the nature of man as constructive, synergy, and capacity for intimate contact. The following conclusions can be made, on the basis of these findings:

1) Group M is significantly more inner-directed, independent, and self-supportive than Group T.

2) Group M holds the values of self-actualizing people to a significantly higher degree than Group T.

3) Group M is significantly more flexible than Group T in the application of values.

4) Group M experiences significantly more freedom than Group T to express feelings behaviorally.

5) Group M is significantly higher in feelings of self-worth than Group T.

6) Group M's view of the nature of man is significantly more constructive and positive than that of Group T.

7) Group M sees the opposites of life as meaningfully related significantly moreso than does Group T.

8) Group M experiences a significantly greater capacity for intimate contact and warm interpersonal relationships than does Group T.

Figure 1 displays the profiles of the three groups. As Figure 1 indicates, the majority of Group L and Group M scores fall between the standard scores of 50 and 60 - the self-actualizing range. Group T scores all fall below the standard mean of 50. Both Group L and Group M scored below the mean on time competence, existentiality, and self-acceptance, and above the mean on inner-directedness, self-actualizing value, feeling reactivity, spontaneity, self-regard, view of the nature of man as constructive, synergy, and acceptance of aggression. Group M scored slightly above the mean on capacity for intimate contact; Group L scored slightly below the mean on this variable.

Hypothesis 2: Traditionalist, middle, and liberationist groups will differ significantly in their degree of endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics as determined by scores on the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, and consequently, in their degree of androgyny, in the direction of greater androgyny for the liberationist group.

Table 6 outlines means, standard deviations, t-values, and probabilities for the scores of the three groups on the BSRI, and these results are displayed graphically in Figure 2. As is indicated in the following table,
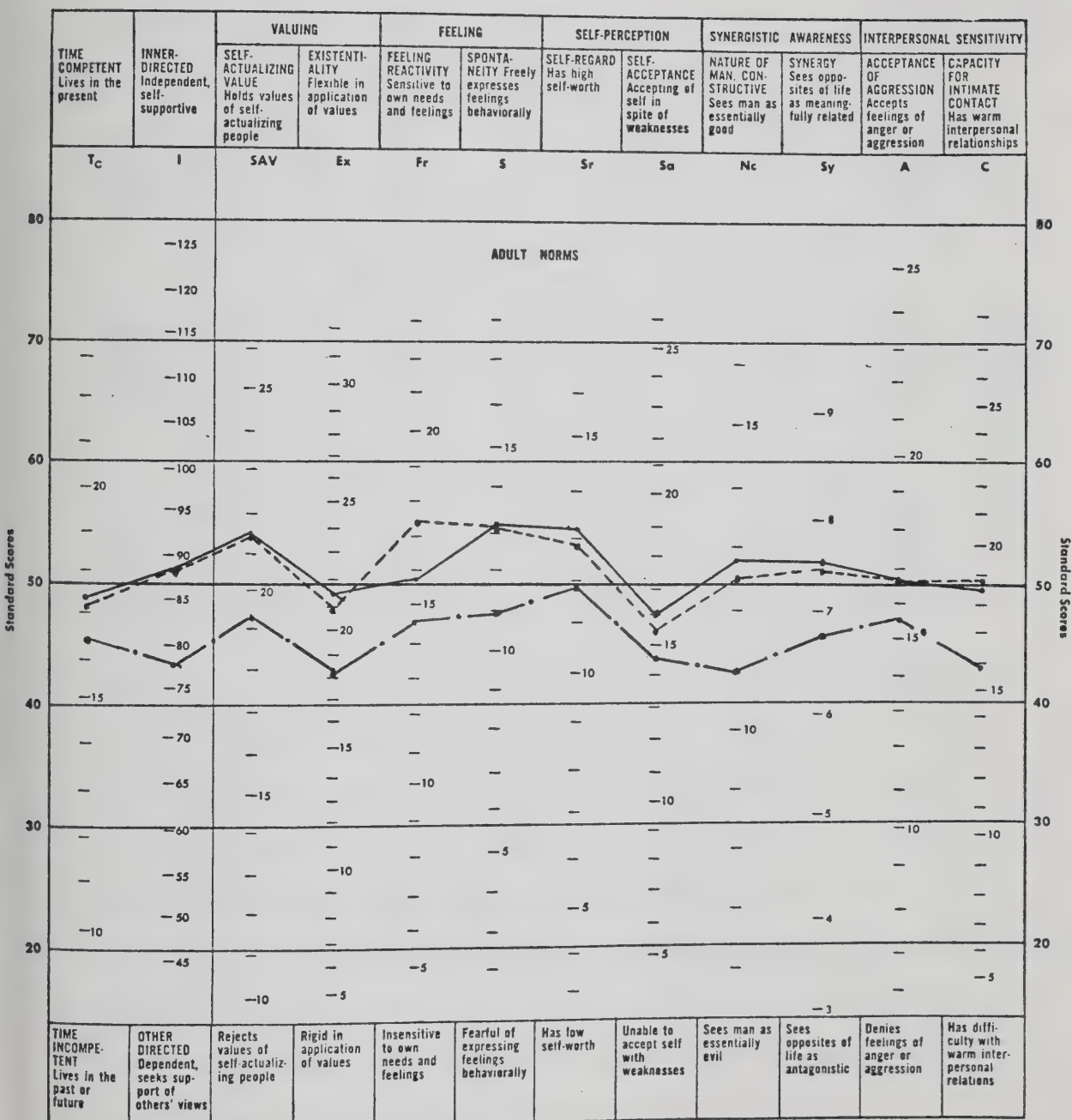
Figure 1

Group T —— · —— ·
Group M — — — — — —   Profile Sheet for POI
Group L ————————

Table 6

Means, Standard Deviations, t-Values
and Probabilities of Scores on the BSRI

Variable	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	t-Value	Probabilities 1-tail	2-tail
	Group T (n=36)		Group L (n=36)		df = 70		
Masculinity	4.52	0.60	4.84	0.65	2.18	0.016	0.032*
Femininity	4.86	0.43	4.74	0.43	-1.24	0.120	0.220
Androgyny	0.34	0.79	-0.10	0.86	-2.26	0.010	0.020*
	Group M (n=37)		Group L (n=36)		df = 71		
Masculinity	4.56	0.66	4.84	0.65	1.82	0.037	0.073
Femininity	4.90	0.51	4.74	0.43	-1.48	0.071	0.143
Androgyny	0.34	0.83	-0.10	0.86	-2.29	0.025	0.050*
	Group T (n=36)		Group M (n=37)		df = 71		
Masculinity	4.52	0.60	4.56	0.66	0.29	0.387	0.773
Femininity	4.86	0.43	4.90	0.51	0.35	0.364	0.727
Androgyny	0.34	0.79	0.34	0.83			

Group L had significantly higher scores than Group T on the Masculinity scale of the BSRI. The difference on the Femininity scale was not significant. Group L was significantly more androgynous than Group T. Differences between Group L and Group M, and between Group M and Group T on both the Masculinity and Femininity scales did not reach the .05 level of significance. It should be pointed out, however, that differences between Group L and Group M were much greater than differences between Group M and Group T. Group L was significantly more androgynous than Group M. The Androgyny scores of Group T and Group M were identical.

Although Group L was significantly more androgynous than either Group M or Group T, this was true for the groups as a whole, and not necessarily for individual subjects in the groups who may or may not be androgynous in their sex-role orientation. For this reason, subjects were regrouped

Figure 2

Profile Sheet for BSRI
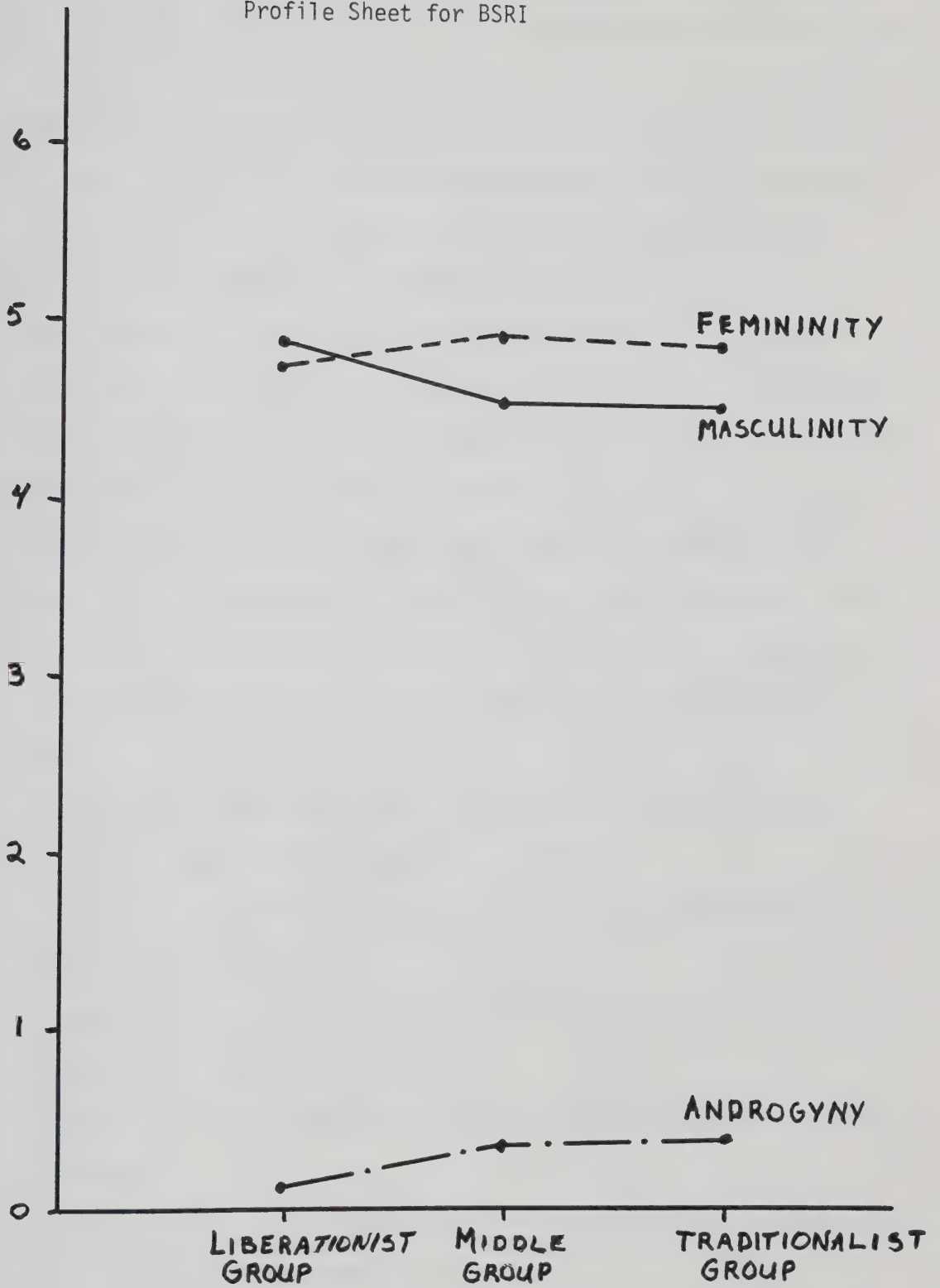
according to their Androgyny scores, as was described in Chapter III, in order to investigate the relationship between androgynous orientation and self-actualizing characteristics.

Hypothesis 3: Androgynous, non-androgynous, and middle groups will differ significantly in self-actualizing characteristics, as determined by scores on the Personal Orientation Inventory, in the direction of greater self-actualizing in the androgynous group.

Means, standard deviations, t-values, and probabilities of the POI scores for these three new groups are presented in Table 7. As the table indicates, Group A scored higher than Group NA on all scales and subscales of the POI, with differences being significant at the .05 level (2-tail) on 10 of the 12 variables: time competence, inner-directedness, self-actualizing value, existentiality, feeling reactivity, spontaneity, self-regard, synergy, acceptance of aggression, and capacity for intimate con-tact. The following conclusions can be drawn, on the basis of these findings:

1) Group A is significantly more time-competent (in the sense of being "present-oriented") than Group NA.

2) Group A is significantly more inner-directed, independent, and self-supportive than Group NA.

3) Group A holds the values of self-actualizing people to a signifi-cantly higher degree than Group NA.

4) Group A is significantly more flexible than Group NA in the appli-cation of values.

5) Group A subjects are significantly more sensitive to their own needs and feelings than Group NA subjects.

6) Group A experiences significantly more freedom than Group NA to express feelings behaviorally.

Table 7

Means, Standard Deviations, t-Values
and Probabilities of Scores on the POI

Variable	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	t-Values	Probabilities 1-tail	Probabilities 2-tail
	Group A (n=37)		Group NA (n=36)		df=71		
1	17.5	2.6	16.1	2.8	2.3032	0.012	0.024*
2	89.3	11.2	79.2	14.2	3.3923	0.001	0.001*
3	21.7	2.4	19.3	3.6	3.4199	0.001	0.001*
4	21.0	4.4	18.9	4.3	2.0197	0.024	0.047*
5	16.8	2.8	14.5	3.6	3.1013	0.001	0.003*
6	13.1	2.8	11.4	3.1	2.4981	0.007	0.015*
7	13.0	2.1	12.0	2.2	2.0901	0.020	0.040*
8	16.0	3.3	15.3	3.9	0.8540	0.198	0.396
9	12.2	1.6	11.6	2.3	1.2256	0.112	0.224
10	7.5	1.1	6.7	1.8	2.3066	0.012	0.024*
11	18.1	3.1	14.7	3.7	4.2852	0.000	0.000*
12	19.4	3.7	15.9	4.4	3.7182	0.000	0.000*
	Group A (n=37)		Group M (n=36)		df=71		
1	17.5	2.6	17.4	3.5	0.1715	0.432	0.864
2	89.3	11.2	85.4	12.7	1.3924	0.084	0.168
3	21.7	2.4	21.1	2.5	1.1193	0.133	0.267
4	21.0	4.4	20.6	4.7	0.3638	0.359	0.717
5	16.8	2.8	16.2	3.0	0.9077	0.184	0.367
6	13.1	2.8	12.5	2.5	1.0678	0.145	0.289
7	13.0	2.1	12.6	2.5	0.8305	0.205	0.409
8	16.0	3.3	14.6	3.8	1.6736	0.049	0.099
9	12.2	1.6	12.2	1.8	-0.0825	0.467	0.935
10	7.5	1.1	7.3	1.2	0.6716	0.252	0.504
11	18.1	3.1	16.2	3.5	2.4979	0.007	0.015*
12	19.4	3.7	17.6	4.4	1.9168	0.030	0.060
	Group M (n=36)		Group NA (n=36)		df=70		
1	17.4	3.5	16.1	2.8	1.7883	0.039	0.078
2	85.4	12.7	79.2	14.2	1.9588	0.027	0.054*
3	21.1	2.5	19.3	3.6	2.4336	0.009	0.018*
4	20.6	4.7	18.9	4.3	1.5775	0.060	0.119
5	16.2	3.0	14.5	3.6	2.1797	0.016	0.033*
6	12.5	2.5	11.4	3.1	1.6010	0.057	0.114
7	12.6	2.5	12.0	2.2	1.1103	0.135	0.271
8	14.6	3.8	15.3	3.9	-0.7303	0.234	0.468
9	12.2	1.8	11.6	2.3	0.2425	0.109	0.218
10	7.3	1.2	6.7	1.8	1.7411	0.043	0.086
11	16.2	3.5	14.7	3.7	1.7680	0.041	0.081
12	17.6	4.4	15.9	4.4	1.6675	0.050	0.100

1 Time competent
2 Inner directed
3 Self-actualizing value
4 Existentiality
5 Feeling reactivity
6 Spontaneity
7 Self-respect
8 Self-acceptance
9. Nature of man, constructive
10. Synergy
11. Acceptance of aggression
12. Capacity for intimate contact

7) Group A is significantly higher in feelings of self-worth than Group NA.

8) Group A sees the opposites of life as meaningfully related significantly moreso than does Group NA.

9) Group A accepts feelings of anger and aggression significantly moreso than does Group NA.

10) Group A experiences a significantly greater capacity for intimate contact and warm interpersonal relationships than does Group NA.

As indicated in Table 8, Group A scored higher than Group M on all scales and subscales of the POI, with one exception: there was a very slight difference in favor of Group M on the subscale assessing view of the nature of man as constructive. Only one of the differences (acceptance of aggression) was significant at the .05 level. On the basis of these findings, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1) Group A accepts feelings of anger and aggression significantly moreso than does Group M.

2) With the above exception, Group A and Group M do not differ significantly in self-actualizing characteristics, as determined by scores on the POI.

As Table 8 indicates, Group M scored higher than Group NA on both scales and on all but one of the subscales (i.e. self-acceptance) of the POI, with differences being significant at the .05 level (2-tail) on 3 of the 12 variables: inner-directedness, self-actualizing value, and feeling reactivity. On the basis of these findings, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1) Group M is significantly more inner-directed, independent, and self-supportive than Group NA.

2) Group M holds the values of self-actualizing people to a significantly higher degree than Group NA.

3) Group M experiences significantly more freedom than Group NA to express feelings behaviorally.

Figure 3 displays the profiles of the three groups. As Figure 3 indicates, eight of Group A's scores fall between the standard scores of 50 and 60 - the self-actualizing range: inner-directedness, self-actualizing value, feeling reactivity, spontaneity, self-regard, synergy, acceptance of aggression, and capacity for intimate contact. Group A scored below the standard mean on 4 variables: time competence, existentiality, self-acceptance, and view of the nature of man as constructive. Group M scored above the mean on 4 variables: self-actualizing value, feeling reactivity, spontaneity, and self-regard; and below the mean on 7 variables: time competence, inner-directedness, existentiality, self-acceptance, view of the nature of man as constructive, acceptance of aggression, and capacity for intimate contact. Group M's score on synergy was right at the mean. Group NA scores all fell below the mean.

B. General Discussion

Results of the study clearly indicate that a certain degree of liberation from rigidly-defined traditional sex-roles is related to greater self-actualizing characteristics in this sample of University women. This appears to suggest that greater self-actualizing characteristics are the result of such liberation; it may well be the other way around; or, more likely, the effects may be circular or reciprocal, one feeding the other, like a system of inter-connecting gears.

It should be noted that the entire investigation is based on self-report - a widely-used and accepted method of psychological assessment.

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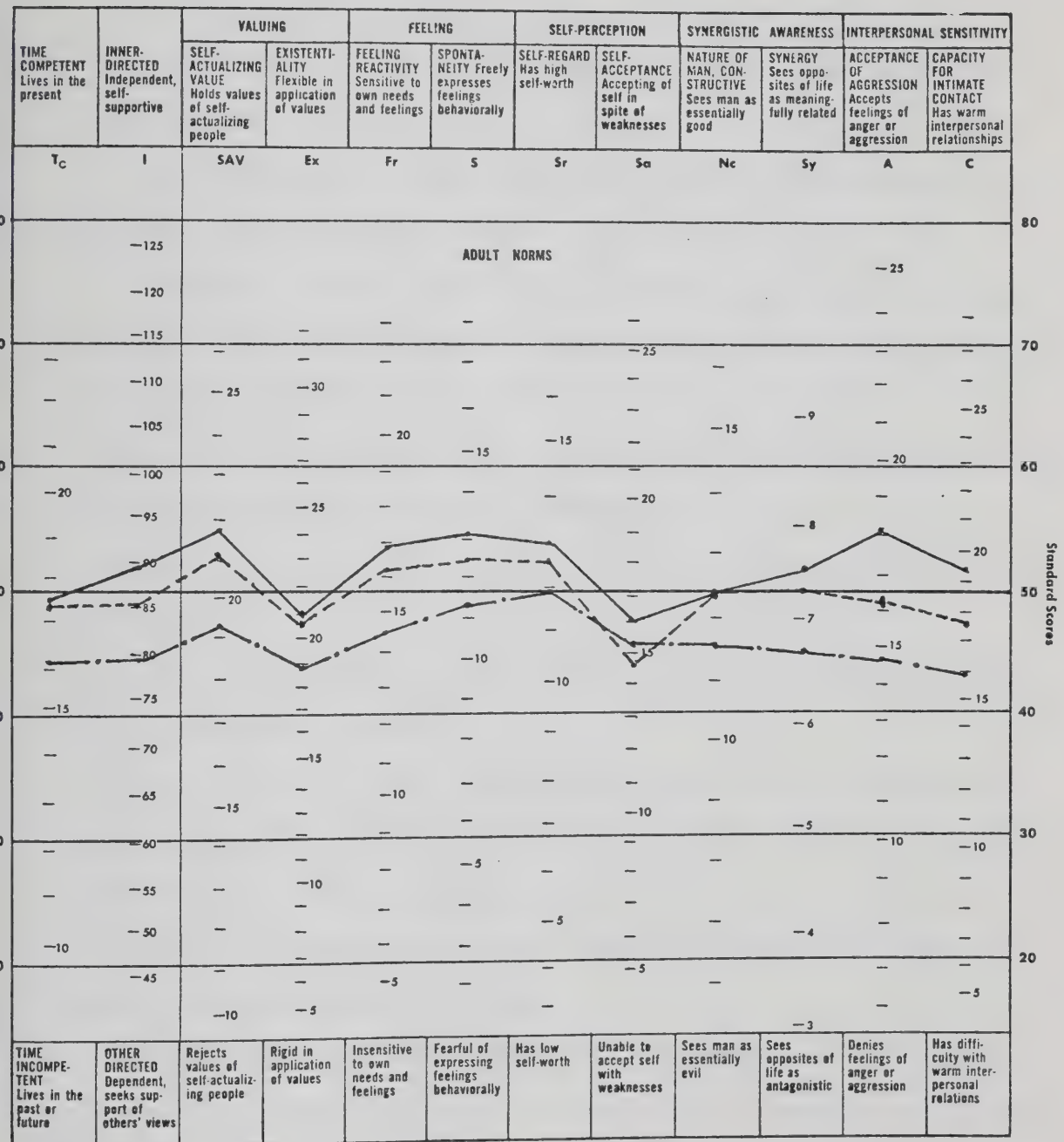
Figure 3

Group NA ——·——
Group M ———————
Group A ——————

Profile Sheet for the POI

This leaves open the possibility of the results being affected to a degree by a response set rather than true self-description.

The following questions were posed at the outset of the study:

1) Do traditionalists and liberationists differ significantly in self-actualizing characteristics?

2) Do traditionalists and liberationists differ significantly in androgynous orientation?

3) How does a middle group, which is neither highly traditionalist nor highly liberationist, compare with the other two groups in self-actualizing characteristics?

4) How does this middle group compare with traditionalist and liberationist groups in its androgynous orientation?

5) What is the relationship between androgynous orientation and self-actualization?

Based on the findings of the present investigation, these questions can be answered as follows.

The liberationist group scored significantly higher than the traditionalist group on 7 of the 12 self-actualizing characteristics, and significantly higher than the middle group on 1 of the 12 characteristics. The middle group scored significantly higher than the traditionalist group on 8 of the 12 characteristics.

Middle and liberationist groups, as mentioned above, differed significantly on only one aspect of self-actualization. Perhaps the "pendulum principle" (Kaplan and Bean, 1976, p. 390) is in operation here, although an intimate knowledge and analysis of the psychological dynamics of individual subjects would be necessary to verify this hypothesis. The "pendulum principle" suggests that "the more a person has been constrained,

inhibited, or overcommitted to one model, the farther to the other end that person would have to go to wrench him- or herself free" (Kaplan and Bean, p. 390). This initial move from one extreme to the other is to be considered as only a beginning stage, rather than the end product or goal of liberation. With time, it is hoped that "a person would be able to let go of extreme positions, gradually finding his or her middle ground, yet never remaining static" (ibid.).

The findings regarding the relationship between androgynous orientation and self-actualizing characteristics are equally clear. The liberationist group endorsed masculine and feminine characteristics almost equally, indicating an androgynous orientation, whereas the middle and traditionalist groups endorsed feminine attributes more than masculine attributes, indicating a sex-typed feminine sex-role orientation. When subjects were regrouped according to their Androgyny scores on the BSRI, the androgynous group scored significantly higher than the non-androgynous group on 10 of the 12 self-actualizing characteristics, and significantly higher than the middle group on 1 of the 12 characteristics. The middle group scored significantly higher than the non-androgynous group on 3 of the 12 characteristics.

On the basis of these findings, it can be concluded that adherence to the traditional feminine role and sex-role stereotypes is detrimental to the development of women as full, complete, self-actualizing persons, and that freedom from the traditional feminine role and sex-role stereotypes aids in the self-actualizing process.

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

This chapter will consider the implications arising from the study, will make recommendations for further research, and draw a conclusion.

A.   Implications

In Kaplan and Bean's (1976) words:

> Androgyny (...) is not a simple or even complex
> union of the totalities of traditionally defined
> masculinity and femininity. It is a third dimen-
> sion, one that goes beyond the cultural conceptions.
> Our use of the model is both individual and cultural.
> It includes personality changes as well as role changes
> embedded in a larger societal context. We are ad-
> vocating an acceptance of individual diversity in
> a new pluralist society (p. 383 - italics in original).

Movement toward the acceptance of androgyny, according to Kaplan and Bean, must occur at three levels of society: at an ideological level, at an institutional level, and at an individual level.

At the ideological level, we are concerned with "the shared norms or implicit assumptions that exist across our culture (...) exemplified by standards of mental health, criteria for determining intelligence, creativity, achievement, and child-rearing norms" (p. 386). The implicit or explicit cultural definitions of appropriate sex role behavior are promoted by educators, media, physicians, psychologists, sociologists, trade unionists, parent groups, etc.

Change will occur at the institutional level when the new androgynous ideology is incorporated into legally required and generally expected ac-tions. The various changes toward more equal rights for both sexes taking place in the areas of government, law, and labor are encouraging trends. Hopefully, they will develop towards a modification of institutional expec-tations regarding the roles of women and men at home and at work.

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Rebecca et al. (1976) proposes a model of sex-role transcendence to replace the traditional models of sex-role development which view learning appropriate sex-roles for one's sex and living in conformity with them as the ultimate goal and end process of socialization. The androgynous model of sex-role transcendence is a dynamic and on-going process which never actually ends. According to this new model, the developing person progresses from undifferentiated sex-roles through polarized sex-roles to transcendence of sex-roles. Conflict at each level, and particularly at the third level, appears to be unavoidable, but there are ways of reducing the degree of conflict.

Beginning when the child is very young, patterns of socialization and education can be changed. The tradition of dressing female infants in pink, feminine outfits and male infants in blue, more masculine clothes generally leads to treatment of them with expectations for females including passive, dependent behavior and expectations for males including aggressive, independent behavior. It can be expected that, since adults react to infants in ways that encourage the development of masculine and feminine behaviors, changes in the behavior of adults would result in fewer sex-typed behaviors specifically assigned to males and females.

Rather than continuing the traditional pattern where the mother has had primary responsibility and involvement in the care of the child, both parents could take an increasingly active role in child rearing. It is logical to expect that children would benefit greatly from having both parents participate fully in the child rearing with additional behaviors and personality styles to be modeled.

Children of school age could be raised with the full involvement of both parents, which entails that father and mother each make an active commitment to the child (which is not to suggest that mother and father

need to be home at all times). Children could be exposed to both male and female teachers at all levels in school. Textbooks which depict both women and men involved in all types of work, homemaking activities, and child rearing activities could replace those textbooks which show women almost solely as housewives, nurses, and secretaries, and men as blue- or white- collar workers, executives, and professionals. Home economics and cheerleading could no longer be just for girls, and hockey and shop no longer just for boys.

In the past, many teachers and counsellors have, overtly or covertly, encouraged females to be passive and sometimes achieving, and suggested that a choice must be made between marriage and a career, with the impli- cation that the latter is a less desirable choice. They have encouraged males to compete, behave aggressively, and pursue careers in order to gain status and self-esteem, and to support a family. There generally was no question of males being required, or even allowed, to make a choice between a career and marriage. Now, in opposition to the way things were, girls as well as boys could be encouraged to develop life styles and to pur- sue jobs or careers consistent with their interests and abilities rather than those deemed appropriate for their sex.

Children socialized in the direction of androgyny may develop alter- native directions for individual growth. Hopefully, females may come to develop skills congruent with their abilities, and experience greater self- development in their years of education, and less conflict related to mar- riage, children, jobs, and careers later on as adults. Hopefully also, there will be a diminished incidence of early learning and behavior pro- blems among young boys, and more fulfilled and relaxed lives for adult males.

Greater freedom of choice in the educational and occupational spheres, changes in personal standards of appropriate behavior, and greater freedom of choice in selection of personal and family life styles, conscious attempts to effect personality change, involvement in the Women's Movement and/or Gay Liberation: these all reflect positive changes at the individual level.

Reconceptualization of sex role norms will ultimately involve an interaction among the ideological, institutional, and individual levels. Sweden is the best existing example of the process of change occurring at all three levels. Sweden has been unusually progressive regarding economic and political equality between the sexes. Progressive legislation on marriage and family law, governmental promotion of new attitudes toward sexual equality, changes in the tax system and school curriculum, are gradually weakening the traditional, culturally-defined norms of sex role behavior at all levels, and individuals are experiencing a new freedom to develop androgynously.

Theoretically, precedents exist for focusing on each level as a primary change agent. However, in Kaplan and Bean's view, although ideological transformations are ultimately necessary, they are currently impractical for effecting social change. Imposed ideological equality will not result in actual equity, without the incorporation of this ideology at the institutional and individual levels. This requires the whole-hearted co-operation of individuals and institutions in such change. The heart of the issue appears to lie at the personal level. As Kaplan and Bean state: "our hope is that the human need for self-determination and self-actualization coupled with the ability to understand and accept human diversity will generate its own momentum, once the process has been begun" (p. 389).

These proposed changes in patterns of socialization and education of boys and girls will gradually lead to increased alternatives in life styles for both sexes, to fuller development of the potential of a greater number of individuals in our society, and to psychological benefits in terms of human fulfillment and self-actualization.

B.   Recommendations for Further Research

The concept of androgyny is a relatively new and uninvestigated frontier. Much research concerning the many and varied aspects of psychological androgyny is necessary. More specifically, some of the research ideas arising from the present study, are listed below:

1) reinvestigation of the role of the father in child rearing;

2) study of the effects of alternate styles of maternal and paternal behavior;

3) investigation of the effects of exposing children to male and female teachers at all levels, and to non-sexist textbooks and teaching;

4) assessment of the effects of alternate forms of education, counselling, and opportunities upon sex role development, achievement, and choice of life styles and jobs or careers;

5) investigation of the process and effects of resocialization through feminist therapy;

6) further assessment of the psychological effects of rigid sex role stereotyping and traditional roles on aging men and women;

7) assessment of the psychological effects of alternate life styles on aging men and women;

8) further investigation of the relationships among gender identity, sexual preference, sex role style, sex-typed attitudes and interests;

9) extension of the present investigation to include men as well as women;

10) extension of the present investigation to include women outside the university setting in order to increase the generalizability of results;

11) refinement of the present investigation controlling for various factors such as age, religious background, marital status, etc.

C.   Conclusion

This study investigated the relationships between women's sex role attitudes and orientation, and self-actualization. It was hypothesized and determined that liberated attitudes regarding the traditional feminine role and an androgynous orientation were related to increased self-actualizing characteristics in the subjects.

Although encouraging changes are taking place, we continue to live in a sexist society which is detrimental to the psychological health, fulfillment, and self-actualization of both males and females. It is to the advantage of both sexes that they strive to achieve psychological androgyny, and to undermine rigid adherence to traditional sex roles and sex role stereotypes.

The statement of Safilios-Rothschild merits repeating as a concluding remark:

> Liberation (...) means freedom from stereo-
> typic sex-linked values and beliefs restrict-
> ing the range of socially acceptable options
> for men and women because some options are
> considered to be inappropriate for one or the
> other sex. Liberated men and women living in
> a liberated society have equal access to the
> range of options and may make any choice ac-
> cording to their particular inclinations, ta-
> lents, wishes, and idiosyncratic preferences
> (....) A major goal (...) of emancipation
> was to give women as many privileges as men,
> while the major goal of liberation is the
> elimination of social, cultural, and psycho-
> logical barriers in the way of both men and
> women's realization and, therefore, benefit
> both men and women (p. 271 - italics in origi-
> nal).

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APPENDIX I

INSTRUMENTS

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate the opinions of educated women on a variety of issues. It is part of a Ph. D. dissertation project undertaken by a student in Educational Psychology at the University of Alberta. Some questions relate to the functions that women fulfill in society; other questions relate to topics of more general interest. A biographical section is also included.

In order to maintain complete confidentiality, no names are required; instead each completed form will be assigned an I.D. number. Responses will be summarized and reported in a statistical manner only.

Your co-operation in this research project is greatly appreciated.

Directions

Please answer <u>all</u> items, in the order and manner indicated.

Please do not linger too long on any one item.

Answer sheets are provided for the <u>SRI</u> (the pink multi-purpose answer sheet) and for the <u>Personal Orientation Inventory</u> (final page).

Answers to the <u>Biographical Data</u> section and the <u>BSRI</u> are to be indicated directly on the pages of the instrument itself.

SRI   I.D._____

Please indicate as best you can how <u>you</u> <u>personally</u> feel in relation to
each of the following statements. There are five response possibilities
on your answer sheet. For each statement, fill in the response number
which corresponds with your choice. The numbers on the answer sheet are
coded as follows:

            1. strongly agree   4. somewhat disagree
            2. somewhat agree   5. strongly disagree
            3. no opinion

Example: If you feel that you <u>somewhat agree</u> with the statement: "Women
who demand equal decision-making power in marriage risk making their hus-
bands feel unmanly", then your answer in the box would be

            1   2   3   4   5
            ::   ▋   ::   ::   ::
            ::   ▋   ::   ::   ::
            ::   ▋   ::   ::   ::

1. In a marriage, the husband is mainly responsible for the financial
    support of the family.

2. Marriage to one person at a time provides the best possible framework
    for a relationship between mature men and women.

3. In a marriage, the wife should support the husband in building his
    career despite possible conflict with her own ambitions.

4. Women who demand equal decision-making power in a marriage risk making
    their husbands feel unmanly.

5. In most families it is best that the husband is the head of the home.

6. Women have much to contribute to political life in modern society.

7. Women who are sure of their femininity will be happy to be supportive
    rather than dominant in their marriage relationships.

8. For most professionally trained women, having to choose between the
    role of a wife and mother and the pursuit of a career creates feelings
    of inner conflict.

9. Mr. and Mrs. A. are both working in careers that provide much satis-
    faction and opportunity for personal growth. They have two small
    children. Mrs. A. is offered a job in a different city that would
    greatly enhance her career. Mrs. A. should convince the family to move.

10. A woman's major source of security comes from her husband and family.

11. Children of working mothers tend to be less well adjusted than children
    of mothers not employed outside the home.

12. The greater the distinction a woman makes between her role as wife and mother and her other needs as a person, the more she experiences a sense of inner turmoil.

13. There are arrangements other than traditional marriage and family which might be better for some adults and children.

14. Women should have equality with men in salaries, promotions, and hiring.

15. It is very difficult for women with children to combine a marriage with a career.

16. It is often important that women act less knowledgeable or intelligent than men in order to please or impress them.

17. It is the role of women to be supportive rather than assertive.

18. Both men and women should have the freedom to experiment sexually as they choose.

19. In the home, men and women should share the child-rearing responsibilities equally.

20. In our education system, girls are often counseled into female-dominated careers such as nursing and teaching. This is too limiting and must change.

21. Most men achieve their greatest satisfaction from their work.

22. In this culture most women appear to feel defensive and competitive with other women.

23. Women now have equality with men before the law.

24. The primary reason for working in one's profession, while being a good wife and mother, is not the earning of money, but the achievement of personal satisfaction.

25. In a heterosexual situation, men should always assume leadership.

26. The institution of marriage in its present form must end.

27. It is unfair that many qualified women cannot get suitable work appointments while men with similar skills have less trouble.

28. In the home, men and women should share the economic responsibilities equally.

29. Many professional women would feel free to pursue careers if there were adequate day-care centers available for their children.

30. In a marriage, husband and wife should have equal decision-making power.

31. Mr. M. and his wife share all household tasks and the care of their two small children. Both work half time. This reduces their income, but allows them to maintain a closer family relationship. This is a great arrangement for all concerned.

32. Due to the incompatibility of interests between family needs and the demands of a profession, women who pursue careers as well as homemaking have more conflict in their marriage than those who do not.

33. Women who belong to Women's Liberation are aggressive and castrating females who dislike men.

34. It is not right for wives to expect husbands to be equally responsible for preparing food, cleaning house and caring for children, even if they are both working professionals.

35. The special courtesies extended to women are demeaning because they keep women feeling helpless and in their place.

36. Women should initiate intimate interaction with men if they wish to.

37. Although it may often be acceptable for the male to have extra-marital sex, it is not acceptable for the female of a marriage to do so. This double standard is unfair.

38. Women who combine a career with marriage have a deeper sense of their own worth than those who do not.

39. The most important role in a woman's life is that of wife and mother.

40. In intellectual matters, most men rarely consider the opinions of women seriously.

41. A man who allows his spouse to overrule his decisions is unmasculine.

42. Throughout life most women are discouraged from having ambitions which might lead them into dominant public positions.

43. Abortion on demand is a most humane way of dealing with a situation of an unwanted birth.

44. In general, men are more often interested in a woman's body than in her intellectual and creative abilities.

45. The male sex is better off in this society since they have freedom, status and power that women do not have.

46. Women who belong to the Women's Liberation Movement are healthy women fighting a sick system.

47. Women can best achieve full self-development by getting the best education and training possible.

48. Most men achieve their greatest satisfactions from being good fathers for their families.

49. Women's liberation is a movement organized by women with justifiable grievances.

50. Women who pursue a career and never marry have missed the most important satisfaction of being a woman.

51. Men are naturally more rational while women are naturally more emotional.

52. Women who are aggressive are unfeminine.

53. Raising children and homemaking provides many rewards, but if it is a full-time task, it cannot provide a woman with complete satisfaction.

54. The traditional family should be replaced by laissez-faire heterosexual interaction with children being raised by well-trained professionals.

55. Marriage should not limit the depth of one's heterosexual relationships outside of the marriage unit.

Biographical Data

This section asks for biographical data. Please fill in the box with the number which corresponds to your answer. Fill in your answers directly on this sheet. For example, if you were born last in your family, you would fill out the question below as follows:

In your family, were you born:

(1) first
(2) second
(3) third or after
(4) last
(5) only child

[4]

1. What is your present marital status?

(1) first marriage   (5) widowed
(2) remarried   (6) common-law
(3) separated or divorced   (7) other _____
(4) single

[ ]

2. How many children do you have?

(1) 0   (3) 2
(2) 1   (4) 3 or more

[ ]

3. What is your religious preference?

(1) Protestant   (5) Mormon
(2) Catholic   (6) atheist or agnostic
(3) Jewish   (7) other _____
(4) Unitarian

[ ]

4. What was the country of your birth?

    (1) Canada   (6) Scandinavia
    (2) United States   (7) England
    (3) Ukraine   (8) France
    (4) Germany   (9) China
    (5) India   (10) other _____

5. What is the ethnic background of your father?

    (1) Ukrainian   (5) Scandinavian
    (2) German   (6) English, Irish, or Scottish
    (3) East Indian (7) French
    (4) Dutch   (8) other _____

6. What is the ethnic background of your mother?

    (1) Ukrainian   (5) Scandinavian
    (2) German   (6) English, Irish, or Scottish
    (3) East Indian (7) French
    (4) Dutch   (8) other _____

7. What is your age?

    (1) below 20   (5) 35 - 44 years
    (2) 20 - 24 years   (6) 45 - 50 years
    (3) 25 - 29 years   (7) 51 years or more
    (4) 30 - 34 years

8. In what area of study are you involved?
    (1) education   (6) business
    (2) nursing   (7) law
    (3) home economics (8) engineering
    (4) dentistry   (9) science
    (5) social work   (10) other _____

9. Are you a member or past member of a Women's Liberation group?

    (1) yes   (2) no

10. Would you like to join a Women's Liberation group in the future?

    (1) yes   (2) no

11. How would you describe your political views?

    (1) radical   (3) conservative
    (2) liberal   (4) none of these

BSRI   I.D._____

Circle the number which best describes your perception of yourself for
each of the characteristics listed. The numbers are coded as follows:

1. never true   5. usually true
2. almost never true   6. almost always true
3. usually not true   7. always true
4. sometimes true, sometimes not true

1. self-reliant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. yielding	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. helpful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. defends own beliefs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. cheerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. moody	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. independent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. conscientious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. athletic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. affectionate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. theatrical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. assertive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. flatterable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. strong personality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. loyal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. unpredictable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. forceful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. feminine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. reliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. analytical	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. sympathetic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. jealous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. has leadership abilities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. sensitive to the needs of others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. truthful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. willing to take risks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. understanding	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

30. secretive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. makes decisions easily	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. compassionate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. self-sufficient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. eager to soothe hurt feelings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. conceited	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37. dominant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. soft spoken	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. likable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40. masculine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41. warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42. solemn	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43. willing to take a stand	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44. tender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45. friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46. aggressive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47. gullible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48. inefficient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49. acts as a leader	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50. childlike	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51. adaptable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52. individualistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53. does not use harsh language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54. unsystematic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55. competitive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56. loves children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57. tactful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58. ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59. gentle	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
60. conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

PERSONAL ORIENTATION INVENTORY

EVERETT L. SHOSTROM, Ph.D.

DIRECTIONS

This inventory consists of pairs of numbered statements. Read each statement and decide which of the two paired statements most consistently applies to you.

You are to mark your answers on the answer sheet you have. Look at the example of the answer sheet shown at the right. If the first statement of the pair is TRUE or MOSTLY TRUE as applied to you, blacken between the lines in the column headed "a". (See Example Item 1 at right.) If the second statement of the pair is TRUE or MOSTLY TRUE as applied to you, blacken between the lines in the column headed "b". (See Example Item 2 at right.) If neither statement applies to you, or if they refer to something you don't know about, make no answer on the answer sheet. Remember to give YOUR OWN opinion of yourself and do not leave any blank spaces if you can avoid it.

Section of Answer Column Correctly Marked

	a	b
1.	▮	⋮
	a	b
2.	⋮	▮

In marking your answers on the answer sheet, be sure that the number of the statement agrees with the number on the answer sheet. Make your marks heavy and black. Erase completely any answer you wish to change. Do not make any marks in this booklet.

Remember, try to make <u>some</u> answer to every statement.

Before you begin the inventory, be sure you put your name, your sex, your age, and the other information called for in the space provided on the answer sheet.

NOW OPEN THE BOOKLET AND START WITH QUESTION 1.

1. a. I am bound by the principle of fairness.

   b. I am not absolutely bound by the principle of fairness.

2. a. When a friend does me a favor, I feel that I must return it.

   b. When a friend does me a favor, I do not feel that I must return it.

3. a. I feel I must always tell the truth.

   b. I do not always tell the truth.

4. a. No matter how hard I try, my feelings are often hurt.

   b. If I manage the situation right, I can avoid being hurt.

5. a. I feel that I must strive for perfection in everything that I undertake.

   b. I do not feel that I must strive for perfection in everything that I undertake.

6. a. I often make my decisions spontaneously.

   b. I seldom make my decisions spontaneously.

7. a. I am afraid to be myself.

   b. I am not afraid to be myself.

8. a. I feel obligated when a stranger does me a favor.

   b. I do not feel obligated when a stranger does me a favor.

9. a. I feel that I have a right to expect others to do what I want of them.

   b. I do not feel that I have a right to expect others to do what I want of them.

10. a. I live by values which are in agreement with others.

    b. I live by values which are primarily based on my own feelings.

11. a. I am concerned with self-improvement at all times.

    b. I am not concerned with self-improvement at all times.

12. a. I feel guilty when I am selfish.

    b. I don't feel guilty when I am selfish.

13. a. I have no objection to getting angry.

    b. Anger is something I try to avoid.

14. a. For me, anything is possible if I believe in myself.

    b. I have a lot of natural limitations even though I believe in myself.

15. a. I put others' interests before my own.

    b. I do not put others' interests before my own.

16. a. I sometimes feel embarrassed by compliments.

    b. I am not embarrassed by compliments.

17. a. I believe it is important to accept others as they are.

    b. I believe it is important to understand why others are as they are.

18. a. I can put off until tomorrow what I ought to do today.

    b. I don't put off until tomorrow what I ought to do today.

19. a. I can give without requiring the other person to appreciate what I give.

    b. I have a right to expect the other person to appreciate what I give.

20. a. My moral values are dictated by society.

    b. My moral values are self-determined.

21. a. I do what others expect of me.

    b. I feel free to not do what others expect of me.

22. a. I accept my weaknesses.

    b. I don't accept my weaknesses.

23. a. In order to grow emotionally, it is necessary to know why I act as I do.

    b. In order to grow emotionally, it is not necessary to know why I act as I do.

24. a. Sometimes I am cross when I am not feeling well.

    b. I am hardly ever cross.

25. a. It is necessary that others approve of what I do.

b. It is not always necessary that others approve of what I do.

26. a. I am afraid of making mistakes.

b. I am not afraid of making mistakes.

27. a. I trust the decisions I make spontaneously.

b. I do not trust the decisions I make spontaneously.

28. a. My feelings of self-worth depend on how much I accomplish.

b. My feelings of self-worth do not depend on how much I accomplish.

29. a. I fear failure.

b. I don't fear failure.

30. a. My moral values are determined, for the most part, by the thoughts, feelings and decisions of others.

b. My moral values are not determined, for the most part, by the thoughts, feelings and decisions of others.

31. a. It is possible to live life in terms of what I want to do.

b. It is not possible to live life in terms of what I want to do.

32. a. I can cope with the ups and downs of life.

b. I cannot cope with the ups and downs of life.

33. a. I believe in saying what I feel in dealing with others.

b. I do not believe in saying what I feel in dealing with others.

34. a. Children should realize that they do not have the same rights and privileges as adults.

b. It is not important to make an issue of rights and privileges.

35. a. I can "stick my neck out" in my relations with others.

b. I avoid "sticking my neck out" in my relations with others.

36. a. I believe the pursuit of self-interest is opposed to interest in others.

b. I believe the pursuit of self-interest is not opposed to interest in others.

37. a. I find that I have rejected many of the moral values I was taught.

b. I have not rejected any of the moral values I was taught.

38. a. I live in terms of my wants, likes, dislikes and values.

b. I do not live in terms of my wants, likes, dislikes and values.

39. a. I trust my ability to size up a situation.

b. I do not trust my ability to size up a situation.

40. a. I believe I have an innate capacity to cope with life.

b. I do not believe I have an innate capacity to cope with life.

41. a. I must justify my actions in the pursuit of my own interests.

b. I need not justify my actions in the pursuit of my own interests.

42. a. I am bothered by fears of being inadequate.

b. I am not bothered by fears of being inadequate.

43. a. I believe that man is essentially good and can be trusted.

b. I believe that man is essentially evil and cannot be trusted.

44. a. I live by the rules and standards of society.

b. I do not always need to live by the rules and standards of society.

45. a. I am bound by my duties and obligations to others.

b. I am not bound by my duties and obligations to others.

46. a. Reasons are needed to justify my feelings.

b. Reasons are not needed to justify my feelings.

47. a. There are times when just being silent is the best way I can express my feelings.

b. I find it difficult to express my feelings by just being silent.

48. a. I often feel it necessary to defend my past actions.

b. I do not feel it necessary to defend my past actions.

49. a. I like everyone I know.

b. I do not like everyone I know.

50. a. Criticism threatens my self-esteem.

b. Criticism does not threaten my self-esteem.

51. a. I believe that knowledge of what is right makes people act right.

b. I do not believe that knowledge of what is right necessarily makes people act right.

52. a. I am afraid to be angry at those I love.

b. I feel free to be angry at those I love.

53. a. My basic responsibility is to be aware of my own needs.

b. My basic responsibility is to be aware of others' needs.

54. a. Impressing others is most important.

b. Expressing myself is most important.

55. a. To feel right, I need always to please others.

b. I can feel right without always having to please others.

56. a. I will risk a friendship in order to say or do what I believe is right.

b. I will not risk a friendship just to say or do what is right.

57. a. I feel bound to keep the promises I make.

b. I do not always feel bound to keep the promises I make.

58. a. I must avoid sorrow at all costs.

b. It is not necessary for me to avoid sorrow.

59. a. I strive always to predict what will happen in the future.

b. I do not feel it necessary always to predict what will happen in the future.

60. a. It is important that others accept my point of view.

b. It is not necessary for others to accept my point of view.

61. a. I only feel free to express warm feelings to my friends.

b. I feel free to express both warm and hostile feelings to my friends.

62. a. There are many times when it is more important to express feelings than to carefully evaluate the situation.

b. There are very few times when it is more important to express feelings than to carefully evaluate the situation.

63. a. I welcome criticism as an opportunity for growth.

b. I do not welcome criticism as an opportunity for growth.

64. a. Appearances are all-important.

b. Appearances are not terribly important.

65. a. I hardly ever gossip.

b. I gossip a little at times.

66. a. I feel free to reveal my weaknesses among friends.

b. I do not feel free to reveal my weaknesses among friends.

67. a. I should always assume responsibility for other people's feelings.

b. I need not always assume responsibility for other people's feelings.

68. a. I feel free to be myself and bear the consequences.

b. I do not feel free to be myself and bear the consequences.

69. a. I already know all I need to know about my feelings.

    b. As life goes on, I continue to know more and more about my feelings.

70. a. I hesitate to show my weaknesses among strangers.

    b. I do not hesitate to show my weaknesses among strangers.

71. a. I will continue to grow only by setting my sights on a high-level, socially approved goal.

    b. I will continue to grow best by being myself.

72. a. I accept inconsistencies within myself.

    b. I cannot accept inconsistencies within myself.

73. a. Man is naturally cooperative.

    b. Man is naturally antagonistic.

74. a. I don't mind laughing at a dirty joke.

    b. I hardly ever laugh at a dirty joke.

75. a. Happiness is a by-product in human relationships.

    b. Happiness is an end in human relationships.

76. a. I only feel free to show friendly feelings to strangers.

    b. I feel free to show both friendly and unfriendly feelings to strangers.

77. a. I try to be sincere but I sometimes fail.

    b. I try to be sincere and I am sincere.

78. a. Self-interest is natural.

    b. Self-interest is unnatural.

79. a. A neutral party can measure a happy relationship by observation.

    b. A neutral party cannot measure a happy relationship by observation.

80. a. For me, work and play are the same.

    b. For me, work and play are opposites.

81. a. Two people will get along best if each concentrates on pleasing the other.

    b. Two people can get along best if each person feels free to express himself.

82. a. I have feelings of resentment about things that are past.

    b. I do not have feelings of resentment about things that are past.

83. a. I like only masculine men and feminine women.

    b. I like men and women who show masculinity as well as femininity.

84. a. I actively attempt to avoid embarrassment whenever I can.

    b. I do not actively attempt to avoid embarrassment.

85. a. I blame my parents for a lot of my troubles.

    b. I do not blame my parents for my troubles.

86. a. I feel that a person should be silly only at the right time and place.

    b. I can be silly when I feel like it.

87. a. People should always repent their wrong-doings.

    b. People need not always repent their wrong-doings.

88. a. I worry about the future.

    b. I do not worry about the future.

89. a. Kindness and ruthlessness must be opposites.

    b. Kindness and ruthlessness need not be opposites.

90. a. I prefer to save good things for future use.

    b. I prefer to use good things now.

91. a. People should always control their anger.

    b. People should express honestly-felt anger.

92. a. The truly spiritual man is sometimes sensual.

    b. The truly spiritual man is never sensual.

93. a. I am able to express my feelings even when they sometimes result in undesirable consequences.

    b. I am unable to express my feelings if they are likely to result in undesirable consequences.

94. a. I am often ashamed of some of the emotions that I feel bubbling up within me.

    b. I do not feel ashamed of my emotions.

95. a. I have had mysterious or ecstatic experiences.

    b. I have never had mysterious or ecstatic experiences.

96. a. I am orthodoxly religious.

    b. I am not orthodoxly religious.

97. a. I am completely free of guilt.

    b. I am not free of guilt.

98. a. I have a problem in fusing sex and love.

    b. I have no problem in fusing sex and love.

99. a. I enjoy detachment and privacy.

    b. I do not enjoy detachment and privacy.

100. a. I feel dedicated to my work.

    b. I do not feel dedicated to my work.

101. a. I can express affection regardless of whether it is returned.

    b. I cannot express affection unless I am sure it will be returned.

102. a. Living for the future is as important as living for the moment.

    b. Only living for the moment is important.

103. a. It is better to be yourself.

    b. It is better to be popular.

104. a. Wishing and imagining can be bad.

    b. Wishing and imagining are always good.

105. a. I spend more time preparing to live.

    b. I spend more time actually living.

106. a. I am loved because I give love.

    b. I am loved because I am lovable.

107. a. When I really love myself, everybody will love me.

    b. When I really love myself, there will still be those who won't love me.

108. a. I can let other people control me.

    b. I can let other people control me if I am sure they will not continue to control me.

109. a. As they are, people sometimes annoy me.

    b. As they are, people do not annoy me.

110. a. Living for the future gives my life its primary meaning.

    b. Only when living for the future ties into living for the present does my life have meaning.

111. a. I follow diligently the motto, "Don't waste your time."

    b. I do not feel bound by the motto, "Don't waste your time."

112. a. What I have been in the past dictates the kind of person I will be.

    b. What I have been in the past does not necessarily dictate the kind of person I will be.

113. a. It is important to me how I live in the here and now.

    b. It is of little importance to me how I live in the here and now.

114. a. I have had an experience where life seemed just perfect.

    b. I have never had an experience where life seemed just perfect.

115. a. Evil is the result of frustration in trying to be good.

    b. Evil is an intrinsic part of human nature which fights good.

116. a. A person can completely change his essential nature.

    b. A person can never change his essential nature.

117. a. I am afraid to be tender.

    b. I am not afraid to be tender.

118. a. I am assertive and affirming.

    b. I am not assertive and affirming.

119. a. Women should be trusting and yielding.

    b. Women should not be trusting and yielding.

120. a. I see myself as others see me.

    b. I do not see myself as others see me.

121. a. It is a good idea to think about your greatest potential.

    b. A person who thinks about his greatest potential gets conceited.

122. a. Men should be assertive and affirming.

    b. Men should not be assertive and affirming.

123. a. I am able to risk being myself.

    b. I am not able to risk being myself.

124. a. I feel the need to be doing something significant all of the time.

    b. I do not feel the need to be doing something significant all of the time.

125. a. I suffer from memories.

    b. I do not suffer from memories.

126. a. Men and women must be both yielding and assertive.

    b. Men and women must not be both yielding and assertive.

127. a. I like to participate actively in intense discussions.

    b. I do not like to participate actively in intense discussions.

128. a. I am self-sufficient.

    b. I am not self-sufficient.

129. a. I like to withdraw from others for extended periods of time.

    b. I do not like to withdraw from others for extended periods of time.

130. a. I always play fair.

    b. Sometimes I cheat a little.

131. a. Sometimes I feel so angry I want to destroy or hurt others.

    b. I never feel so angry that I want to destroy or hurt others.

132. a. I feel certain and secure in my relationships with others.

    b. I feel uncertain and insecure in my relationships with others.

133. a. I like to withdraw temporarily from others.

    b. I do not like to withdraw temporarily from others.

134. a. I can accept my mistakes.

    b. I cannot accept my mistakes.

135. a. I find some people who are stupid and uninteresting.

    b. I never find any people who are stupid and uninteresting.

136. a. I regret my past.

    b. I do not regret my past.

137. a. Being myself is helpful to others.

    b. Just being myself is not helpful to others.

138. a. I have had moments of intense happiness when I felt like I was experiencing a kind of ecstasy or bliss.

    b. I have not had moments of intense happiness when I felt like I was experiencing a kind of bliss.

139. a. People have an instinct for evil.

b. People do not have an instinct for evil.

140. a. For me, the future usually seems hopeful.

b. For me, the future often seems hopeless.

141. a. People are both good and evil.

b. People are not both good and evil.

142. a. My past is a stepping stone for the future.

b. My past is a handicap to my future.

143. a. "Killing time" is a problem for me.

b. "Killing time" is not a problem for me.

144. a. For me, past, present and future is in meaningful continuity.

b. For me, the present is an island, unrelated to the past and future.

145. a. My hope for the future depends on having friends.

b. My hope for the future does not depend on having friends.

146. a. I can like people without having to approve of them.

b. I cannot like people unless I also approve of them.

147. a. People are basically good.

b. People are not basically good.

148. a. Honesty is always the best policy.

b. There are times when honesty is not the best policy.

149. a. I can feel comfortable with less than a perfect performance.

b. I feel uncomfortable with anything less than a perfect performance.

150. a. I can overcome any obstacles as long as I believe in myself.

b. I cannot overcome every obstacle even if I believe in myself.

APPENDIX II

SCORING PROCEDURES

Key to Responses on the SRI

Traditional Items

1	23
2	25
3	32
4	33
5	34
7	39
8	41
10	44
11	48
12	50
15	51
16	52
17	

Liberationist Items

6	31
9	35
13	36
14	37
18	38
19	40
20	42
21	43
22	45
24	46
26	47
27	49
28	53
29	54
30	55

The total score for the SRI is determined as follows:

1) By reversing the scores given to those items where a (1) or (2) response indicates agreement with the traditional point of view to a code of (4) or (5): this results in high score responses (4 or 5) indicating support for tradition, while low score responses indicate support for liberationist views.

2) The total score is the sum of all the scores for the separate items. The higher the total score, the more traditional the response pattern. The lower the total score, the less traditional (liberationist) the response pattern (Schmidt, 1973, p. 74).

Masculine, Feminine, and Neutral Items on the BSRI

Masculine Items	Feminine Items	Neutral Items
49. Acts as a leader	11. Affectionate	51. Adaptable
46. Aggressive	5. Cheerful	36. Conceited
58. Ambitious	50. Childlike	9. Conscientious
22. Analytical	32. Compassionate	60. Conventional
13. Assertive	53. Does not use harsh	45. Friendly
10. Athletic	language	15. Happy
55. Competitive	35. Eager to soothe	3. Helpful
4. Defends own beliefs	hurt feelings	48. Inefficient
37. Dominant	20. Feminine	24. Jealous
19. Forceful	14. Flatterable	39. Likable
25. Has leadership abili-	59. Gentle	6. Moody
ties	47. Gullible	21. Reliable
7. Independent	56. Loves children	30. Secretive
52. Individualistic	17. Loyal	33. Sincere
31. Makes decisions	26. Sensitive to the	42. Solemn
easily	needs of others	57. Tactful
40. Masculine	8. Shy	12. Theatrical
1. Self-reliant	38. Soft spoken	27. Truthful
34. Self-sufficient	23. Sympathetic	18. Unpredicta-
16. Strong personality	44. Tender	ble
43. Willing to take a	29. Understanding	54. Unsystematic
stand	41. Warm	
28. Willing to take risks	2. Yielding	

Note: The number preceding each item reflects the position of each adjective on the Inventory. A subject indicates how well each item describes himself or herself on a scale from 1 ("never true") to 7 ("always true".

Items on the BSRI are scored as follows:

1) The subject's ratings for each "masculine" item are totaled, and the mean is determined by dividing the total by 20. This gives the M score.

2) The subject's ratings for each "feminine" item are totaled, and the mean is determined by dividing the total by 20. This gives the F score.

3) The subject's M score is subtracted from her/his F score. This gives the A score. The closer the A score is to zero, the more the person is androgynous. The greater the absolute value of the A score, the more the person is sex-typed or sex-reversed, with high positive scores indicating femininity and high negative scores indicating masculinity.

Scoring Categories for the Personal Orientation Inventory

Number of Items	Scale Number	Symbol	Description
I. Ratio Scores			
23	1/2	T_1/T_C	TIME RATIO Time Incompetence/Time Competence - measures degree to which one is "present" oriented
127	3/4	O/I	SUPPORT RATIO Other/Inner -measures whether reactivity orientation is basically toward others or self
II. Sub-Scales			
26	5	SAV	SELF-ACTUALIZING VALUE Measures affirmation of primary values of self-actualizing persons
32	6	Ex	EXISTENTIALITY Measures ability to situationally or existentially react without rigid adherence to principles
23	7	Fr	FEELING REACTIVITY Measures sensitivity of responsiveness to one's own needs and feelings
18	8	S	SPONTANEITY Measures freedom to react spontaneously or to be oneself
16	9	Sr	SELF REGARD Measures affirmation of self because of worth or strength
26	10	Sa	SELF ACCEPTANCE Measures affirmation or acceptance of self in spite of weaknesses or deficiencies
16	11	NC	NATURE OF MAN Measures degree of the constructive view of the nature of man, masculinity, femininity

Number of Items	Scale Number	Symbol	Description
9	12	Sy	SYNERGY Measures ability to be synergistic, to transcend dichotomies
25	13	A	ACCEPTANCE OF AGGRESSION Measures ability to accept one's natural aggressiveness as opposed to defensiveness, denial, and repression of aggression
28	14	C	CAPACITY FOR INTIMATE CONTACT Measures ability to develop contactful intimate relationships with other human beings, unencumbered by expectations and obligations (Shostrom, 1974, p. 5)

APPENDIX III

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Distribution of Sample	Group L N	Group M N	Group T N	Total N
By Age:				
below 20	2	0	6	8
20 – 24	16	18	11	45
25 – 29	9	8	6	23
30 – 34	3	5	2	10
35 – 44	5	5	7	17
45 – 50	0	1	3	4
51 or above	1	0	1	2
	36	37	36	109
By Number of Children:				
no children	26	31	23	80
1 or more	10	6	13	29
	36	37	36	109
By Marital Status:				
married	13	11	13	37
single	17	22	23	62
separated/divorced	4	3	0	7
common law	2	1	0	3
	36	37	36	109
By Country of Birth:				
Africa	0	0	1	1
Canada	31	25	25	81
China, Hong Kong, India	1	2	5	8
England	1	1	2	4
Germany	0	3	0	3
Portugal	0	0	1	1
Scandinavia	0	1	0	1
Trinidad	0	1	0	1
U.S.	3	2	2	7
other	0	2	0	2
	36	37	36	109
By Religion:				
Agnostic/atheist	11	7	2	20
Buddhist	0	2	0	2
Catholic	5	8	11	24
Protestant	19	17	21	57
other	1	3	2	6
	36	37	36	109

Distribution of Sample	Group L N	Group M N	Group T N	Total N
By Field of Study:				
Arts/Science	2	4	4	10
Business	2	4	1	7
Education	22	20	16	58
Health/Therapy/Rehab.	2	3	8	13
History/Anthropology	0	2	0	2
Home Economics	1	1	1	3
Law	5	0	1	6
Library Science	0	0	1	1
Religious Studies	0	0	1	1
Social Work	0	1	2	3
Unspecified	2	2	1	5
	36	37	36	109
By Politics:				
Conservative	8	9	15	32
Liberal	19	18	12	49
Radical	5	0	1	6
none of these	4	10	8	22
	36	37	36	109
By Membership in Women's Liberation Movement:				
past or present member	6	0	0	6
wish to become member	4	3	2	9
do not wish to become member	25	31	34	90
undecided	1	3	0	4
	36	37	36	109

Distribution of Sample	Group A N	Group M N	Group NA N	Total N
By Age:				
below 20	2	2	3	7
20 -24	18	13	14	45
25 - 29	4	11	8	23
30 - 34	4	4	2	10
35 - 44	6	4	7	17
45 - 50	3	0	1	4
51 or above	0	2	1	3
	37	36	36	109
By Number of Children:				
no children	29	28	13	70
1 or more	8	8	23	39
	37	36	36	109
By Marital Status:				
married	11	14	14	39
single	23	19	18	60
separated/divorced	2	2	3	7
common law	1	1	1	3
	37	36	36	109
By Country of Birth:				
Africa	0	0	1	1
Canada	30	25	26	81
China, Hong Kong, India	1	4	3	8
England	0	2	2	4
Germany	1	1	1	3
Portugal	1	0	0	1
Scandinavia	0	1	0	1
Trinidad	1	0	0	1
U.S.	2	2	3	7
other	1	1	0	2
	37	36	36	109
By Religion:				
Agnostic/atheist	4	4	13	21
Buddhist	0	1	1	2
Catholic	13	6	5	24
Protestant	20	23	14	57
other	0	2	3	5
	37	36	36	109

Distribution of Sample	Group A N	Group B N	Group NA N	Total N
By Field of Study:				
Arts/Science	3	3	4	10
Business	3	4	0	7
Education	18	19	20	57
Health/Therapy/Rehab.	4	5	4	13
History/Anthropology	0	2	0	2
Home Economics	0	2	1	3
Law	3	1	2	6
Library Science	0	0	0	0
Religious Studies	1	0	0	1
Social Work	2	0	2	4
Unspecified	3	0	3	6
	37	36	36	109
By Politics:				
Conservative	10	13	3	26
Liberal	19	14	16	49
Radical	3	0	9	12
none of these	5	9	8	22
	37	36	36	109
By Membership in Women's Liberation Movement:				
past or present member	3	0	3	6
wish to become member	1	6	3	10
do not wish to become member	31	28	30	89
undecided	2	2	0	4
	37	36	36	109